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British Travelers, Catholic Sights, and the Tourist Guidebook, 1789-1884

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in English

by

Alexandra Lauren Milsom

2016

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

British Travelers, Catholic Sights, and the Tourist Guidebook, 1789-1884

by

Alexandra Lauren Milsom

Doctor of Philosophy in English

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Ali Behdad, Co-Chair

Professor Joseph E. Bristow, Co-Chair

This study explores the development of British tourist guidebooks that became increasingly interested Continental Catholicism, its people, and its art and architecture over the course of the nineteenth century. The eighteenth-century Grand Tour, long the domain of young aristocrats, had been a secular pilgrimage to Rome and the capstone to a traditional Classical Oxbridge education. After the wars with France ended in 1815, however, transformations in transportation made Continental Europe accessible to middle-class British tourists. As this fresh generation of travelers went abroad, they cared less about Classical history and more about Roman Catholic cultural artefacts and practices. The dissertation shows that British tourist guidebooks, which frequently Orientalized their Catholic subject matter, became central to consolidating a specific British, Protestant identity from the 1810s onward.

The dissertation of Alexandra Lauren Milsom is approved.

Akhil Gupta

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University of California, Los Angeles

2016

To the late Reverend Robert J. Stone.

He reenacted a Grand Tour using Frommer's *Europe on 5 Dollars a Day* in 1967,

and he gave me my first book on Blake in 1996.

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[1] "Advertising Slogan Hall of Fame,"*Ad Slogans,* http://www.adslogans.co.uk/site/pages/home/hall-of-fame.php (accessed 24 April 2016).

The Harry and Yvonne Lenart Graduate Travel Fellowship enabled me to visit the Turner Bequest at the Tate London and the John Murray Archive at the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh. The Irving and Jean Stone Endowed Fellowship provided essential support for me as I completed my dissertation during the past year.

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INTRODUCTION

> The only remarkable thing people can tell of their
> doings these days is that they have stayed at home.[1]
>
> —George Eliot, in "Letter to Mrs. Congreve
> from Paris" (March 3, 1869)

Before John Murray III (1808-1892) took over his family's illustrious publishing house in the 1840s, he toured Continental Europe and was ever disappointed by "the want of any tolerable English Guide Book for *Europe north of the Alps*."[2] This disappointment led him in 1836 to write the legendary *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*, an act that initiated the modern commercial guidebook genre as we still know it today. Approximately four centuries before the publishing heir went abroad, Henry VIII (1491-1547) split with the Holy See and made himself "Supreme Head of the Church of England," creating a rift that would render much of Continental culture illegible to future British tourists. At every critical juncture in the development of the nineteenth-century Continental guidebook, the task of encouraging a British tourist to understand the sights of a Catholic country was not just a matter of education in art and

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[1] George Eliot, "Letter to Mrs. Congreve, 4th May 1869, From Paris" in *George Eliot's Life: As Related in her Letters and Journals,* 3 vols. (New York: Crosscup and Company, 1896), 3:63.

[2] [John Murray III], *A Handbook for Travellers on the Continent Being a Guide through Holland, Belgium, Prussia, and Northern Germany, and Along the Rhine, from Holland to Switzerland: Containing Descriptions of the Principal Cities, Their Museums, Picture Galleries, &c.;—The Great High Roads;—and the Most Interesting and Picturesque Districts; Also Directions for Travellers; and Hints for Tours* (London: John Murray and Son, 1836), iii.

history, it was also a politically charged act. People of Murray III's generation felt the impact of this schism perhaps most acutely in the aftereffects of the wars between Republican France and Britain that had ushered in the nineteenth century, in the domestic turmoil wrought by the push for Roman Catholic emancipation that followed, and in the ongoing arguments—particularly in the 1840s—among factions in the Anglican church about the degree to which they should align their practices with those of Roman Catholicism. Particularly as new middle-class British tourists filtered into the Roman Catholic countries of Continental Europe, sped along by faster ships and new railroads, guidebooks were called upon to do more than specify routes and explicate sights for their readers.

As a result of these of historical and political circumstances, authors who wrote explicitly for tourists visiting the Continent in the years after the decades of conflict— the French Revolutionary Wars from 1789 to 1802 and the Napoleonic Wars from 1803 to 1815—had to translate the cultural differences between British Protestantism and Continental Catholicism. John Chetwode Eustace (1765-1815), Sir Francis Palgrave (1788-1861), and John Ruskin (1819-1900)—the subjects of the first three chapters of this dissertation—shared a concern that anti-Catholic prejudice would limit tourists' appreciation of Roman Catholic art and history. Different reasons motivated their concern, however. For instance, Eustace was an Irish Catholic priest, widely respected by the Protestant elite in England, who publicly advocated on behalf of Catholic emancipation in Great Britain in the periodical press.[3] Despite its title, his *Classical*

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[3] Eustace's beliefs were those ascribed at the time to a minority group of theologians and Catholic intellectuals called "Cisalpinists." They believed that British Catholics should shift their

Tour (1813)—a prescriptive proto-guidebook for gentlemen embarking on a Grand Tour in a tradition reminiscent of the eighteenth century—acted as a Trojan horse for his radical beliefs, setting forth his pleas for tolerance and understanding under the auspices of Classical erudition. Throughout the book, Eustace betrays his fear that Protestant British tourists' prejudice against Catholicism might inhibit their appreciation of Italian art and architecture. As a result, he allots a great deal of space to explaining Catholic rituals and history and presenting common ground on which he believes both Protestants and Catholics can agree.

Three decades after Eustace, Palgrave authored the Murray firm's first *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1842)–one of the first in the Murray handbook series that Murray III did not write himself. In particular, Palgrave's volume highlights the brilliance of early-Christian artwork and Roman Catholic architecture. In chapter two, I assess the reasons for which Palgrave's emphasis ultimately did not suit the public taste for Renaissance art, causing Murray III to replace him in 1846 with another editor for the second edition. In contrast, the firm's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845), written by Richard Ford (1796-1858), caricatures and exoticizes Spanish Catholics— whom he claimed could be "divided only into two classes–bigoted Romanists or

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loyalty from the pope to the British monarch as a way of dispelling Protestant suspicion about their allegiances. They aimed to achieve this transition by swearing finally to the 1606 Oath of Allegiance by of James I (1566-1625), and in doing so, hoped to regain the property, voting, and religious rights that had been taken away from Catholics in the seventeenth century.

infidels"—and appealed to readers in a way that Palgrave's volume had not.[4] As we shall see in chapter three, Ruskin, whose aesthetic philosophy owes a great deal to Palgrave, spent his entire career advocating for the superiority of early-Christian (Byzantine and pre-Renaissance) styles. The influential critic believed that such art and architecture could only be produced in a society that properly supported human labor and genuine devotion to its god; promoting aesthetic styles of the Byzantine and Medieval periods provided the antidote, in his view, to the dehumanizing conditions of industrialization. Some of Ruskin's later writings—such as *St. Mark's Rest* (published between 1877 and 1884) and the *Bible of Amiens* (published between 1880 and 1885)—were written specifically for tourists to use while traveling abroad, and featured a tone that one might classify as scolding.[5]

In chapter four, I turn to a journal written in 1863 by Jemima Morrell (1832-1909), whose style and approach to Continental culture might seem to justify Ruskin's bitterest vituperations. Morrell was a middle-class artist and temperance society enthusiast who accompanied Thomas Cook (1808-1892) (the Victorian era's most

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[4] [Richard Ford], *Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home. Describing the Country and Cities, the Natives and Their Manners; The Antiquities, Religion, Legends, Fine Arts, Literature, Sports, and Gastronomy, Past and Present: with Notices on Spanish History,* 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1845), 1:168.

[5] John Ruskin, *St. Mark's Rest*, vol. 24, *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. (London: George Allen, 1903-12); *The Bible of Amiens*, vol. 33, *The Works of John Ruskin*. Unless otherwise indicated, all subsequent references to Ruskin's works will come from the Cook and Wedderburn edition.

important entrepreneur of mass tourism) on his first commercial group tour of the Alps. Morrell's journey represented an important evolution in middle-class travel: the fact that a non-aristocratic, unmarried woman of limited means could access the Continent in an expedient manner was truly historic. All the same, her anti-Catholic bigotry and her group's egregious, disrespectful behavior at religious sites abroad show us how the works of Eustace, Palgrave, and Ruskin fared in a tourist market that preferred exotic interpretations of Catholic culture.

To appreciate the historical and literary context of these trends, we can briefly turn to Charles Dickens (1812-1870), who was at once one of the most important novelists of the nineteenth-century and one of its most important tourists. (Dickens traveled extensively throughout Continental Europe and even visited the United States twice.[6]) Like many tourists of his generation, he made use of commercial guidebooks such as those published by the Murray firm, endured the manifold discomforts of new transport systems, and wrote extensive notes and letters about his journeys. He publicized his reflections on travel in non-fictional books such as his *American Notes*

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[6] Dickens first went to the United States in 1842. He expressed his contempt for various aspects of American society in non-fiction (*American Notes for General Circulation* [1842]) and in a novel (*The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit* [1843]), both of which he wrote quickly upon his return home. His searing critique of both slavery and poor copyright protections in the United States angered many of his American fans. He returned to the country to great fanfare in 1867, however, as part of his famous reading tour. See Charles Dickens, *American Notes and Pictures from Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); *The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

for General Circulation (1842) and *Pictures from Italy* (1846), and in his novels he

often sent characters off on journeys that retraced his own routes.

Dickens' *Little Dorrit* (serialized between 1855 and 1857) is a particularly helpful

starting point for this dissertation because it so precisely captures the utter confusion

and disorientation that arose when new, middle-class leisure tourists left Britain for the

Continent where they encountered art and culture in a predominantly Catholic country

for the first time. The actions of the novel take place in the late 1820s and early 1830s

("Thirty years ago" are its opening words), thus its plot sheds retrospective light on the

decades following the Napoleonic Wars when British civilians could safely travel abroad

for the first time in a generation.[7] Midway through the novel, the Dorrit family

celebrates its sudden accession to wealth and the release of its father, Mr. Dorrit, from a

decades-long imprisonment in the Marshalsea debtor's prison by immediately

embarking upon a Grand Tour. In invoking the magnificence and pomp of the

traditional Grand Tour in such an ostentatious fashion, the motley assortment of

bedraggled Dorrits appears more burlesque than majestic. Given their sudden transition

from poverty to riches, the family must rely on expert guidance to elucidate both the

sites of the route as well as the manners of the new class to which they belong. The most

important of these guides is a woman named Mrs. General, a penniless widow who

makes a living leading nouveau-riche upstarts such as the Dorrits around the Continent,

having grown familiar with the route herself when she accompanied her husband—a

military commissariat—during the war.[8]

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[7] Charles Dickens, *Little Dorrit,* ed. Helen Small (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 1.

[8] Mrs. General's husband was a "stiff commissariat officer of sixty, famous as a martinet" (471).

Dickens satirizes the strategies that such tourists used as a way to condemn mass travel, but his depiction of the phenomenon is sophisticated enough to touch upon nearly every important sociological and literary theory proposed by scholars of travel that I have come upon in my research for this project. The main themes of anti-tourism discourse—as explicated by the twentieth century's most important scholars of tourism such as Dean MacCannell in *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976),[9] Jonathan Culler in "The Semiotics of Tourism" (1988),[10] and James Buzard in *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (1993)—figure largely throughout *Little Dorrit* as well as in the texts I examine in the course of this study.[11] Culler summarizes the premise of anti-tourist discourse, stating that "ferocious denigration of tourists is in part an attempt to convince oneself that one is not a tourist."[12] Buzard points to a pattern wherein self-identified "travelers" see themselves in opposition to mere "tourists," and they imagine that there is a "beaten track" where "all experience is predictable and repetitive, all culture and objects are merely 'touristy' self-parodies."[13] Going off the "beaten track" is the mark of prestige, a

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[9] Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books), 1976.

[10] Jonathan Culler, "The Semiotics of Tourism," *Framing the Sign: Criticism and its Institutions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 153-167.

[11] James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[12] Culler, "Semiotics," 156.

[13] Buzard, *Beaten Track*, 4.

brave act that likens the so-called traveler to an adventurer or explorer–the archetypal ür-travelers of yore after whom whole Continents were named. I have found that throughout the nineteenth century, guidebooks consistently decry the very tourists who read them–a technique that confirms Culler's proposition that the "desire to distinguish between tourists and real travelers is a part of tourism – integral to it rather than outside it or beyond it."[14] By associating with travelers and not tourists, the books sought to add value to the sort of guidance that they offered. After all, the word "tourist," since its inception, has nearly always been pejorative. "The Brothers: A Pastoral Poem" (1800) by William Wordsworth (1770-1850), for instance, opens with one of the earliest instances of the word in print: its narrator exclaims "These Tourists, Heaven preserve us!" to lament the increasing numbers of such visitors in the Lake District.[15] Susan Lamb helpfully notes that the "advent of the words 'tourist' and 'tourism'" in the early nineteenth century signals the "shift in how contemporaries conceptualized a form of travel,"[16] marking how connected the phenomenon was to the wide-ranging economic, technological, and political changes of the period.[17]

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[14] Ibid.

[15] William Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads with Other Poems,* 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: Longman and Rees, 1800), 2:19. The OED cites 1780 as the earliest appearance of the word, found in *Ode to the Genius of the Lakes in the North of England* by William Cockin (1736-1801).

[16] Susan Lamb, *Bringing Travel Home to England: Tourism, Gender, and Imaginative Literature in the Eighteenth Century* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2009), 19.

[17] Although I agree with Jonathan Culler that the tension between "tourist" and "traveler" is a historically significant opposition and, in his words, "integral to tourism," this dissertation

Dickens' writings on travel assess the widely studied economic and social changes brought about by what Karl Polanyi called the "Great Transformation" of the 1790s and early 1800s—the transition of British society from an agrarian to a market economy—which led to the rise of the middle class and increased the amount of leisure available to a larger number of Britons.[18] The Dorrits' class accession is a hyperbolic metaphor for the rapid paradigm shift that British society underwent in this period: the family spends

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deliberately deploys "tourist" and "traveler" as relatively equivalent as a way to avoid buying into the notion that there are superior and inferior forms of travel.

[18] In 1814, 8,449 Britons crossed the English channel; in the late 1830s, 20,000 Britons (just at the port of Calais); in 1862, 190,2013; in 1899, 951,078; and in 1910, one-million. See Michel Chevalier, *Lettres sur L'Amérique du Nord*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1837) 1:352-53; R. J. Croft, "The Nature and Growth of Cross Channel Traffic through Calais and Boulogne, 1840-70," in *Transport History* (Nov. 1971): 252-65; James Munson and Richard Mullen, *The Smell of the Continent: The British Discover Europe: 1814-1914* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2010). Exact figures are extremely hard to come by, but Croft's book lists a number of excellent resources for this sort of quantifiable data, and Jan Palmowski's "Travels with Baedeker" includes data on domestic and international British travelers in the nineteenth century. See Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001); and Jan Palmowski, "Travels with Baedeker: The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian Britain," in *Histories of Leisure,* ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002), 105-30. For information on the rise of leisure time in the working class, see John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 16-19. For information on the evolution of transport technology, see Phillip Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution 1770-1985* (London: Routledge, 2002).

spend the first half of the novel in prison and the second half staying in palaces in

Continental Europe, accompanied by servants whom they are not even sure how to

address. Advances made in transport technology in the early 1800s—such as smoother

roads, steam ships, shock-absorption on coaches, and, of course, the steam-powered

train—made tickets cheaper and decreased the amount of time it took to travel (an

important consideration for working people who only had a limited number of days for

vacation). Due to these changes during the first decades of the nineteenth century, many

more thousands of people in Great Britain could travel—both domestically and abroad—

than ever before.[19]

     Little Dorrit also addresses a particular theme on which very few scholars of

tourism and nineteenth-century travel have written: the way in which Victorian tourists

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[19] According to the United Nations' World Tourism Organization, 1.135 billion people

participated in international tourism in 2014 alone, or or approximately fifteen percent of the

world's population. We take leisure travel for granted, given its frequency today, so it is difficult

for us to imagine the cultural significance of this sudden increase in the number of new people

traveling at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. In 1815, there were just 980 million people alive on

Earth–fewer people than traveled internationally in 2014. See *UNWTO Annual Report 2014,*

untwo.org, accessed May 1, 2016, http://www2.unwto.org/annualreport2014; *U.S. and the*

World Population Clock, census.gov, accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.census.gov/popclock/;

"The World at Seven Billion," BBC.com, accessed May 1, 2016,

http://www.bbc.com/news/world-15391515. For more information about the number of British

travelers during the eighteenth century, see Jeremy Black, "Numbers" in *The British Abroad:*

The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing/Phoenix Mill,

2003), 6-11.

seized upon the customs and cultural artefacts of Roman Catholicism as a central object of their gaze, rather than the monuments of Classical history with which earlier travelers had been preoccupied. Mrs. General herself relies on a man she calls "Mr. Eustace" as the source of her own scholarly erudition and a reference point for all that "should [. . .] be looked at" while visiting the hallowed spots on the Grand Tour—a phrase that echoes Murray's first *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*: "matter-of-fact descriptions of what *ought to be seen* at each place."[20] If Dickens' reader had not heard previously of Eustace, or was unfamiliar with the fact he had died nearly two decades before the story takes place, she might be excused for thinking that "Mr. Eustace" is a character in the novel—given the familiarity with which Mrs. General regularly references him—rather than the Irish priest who authored the century's first modern guidebook. Mrs. General's risible and slavish devotion to Eustace represents Dickens' critique of the mindless mindless devotion that modern tourists show toward the authority of so-called experts and the fad of traipsing abroad for the sake of advertising one's social advancement. In this critique, Dickens expresses a rather conventional aversion to crowded tourist sights filled with fellow British tourists as well as a particular contempt for Eustace, whom he treats with unjust derision.

It is worth turning to the following passage—in which the Dorrits visit the Vatican—to see that Dickens' criticism of mass tourism is amusing, but it also turns Eustace into a symbol of the sort of irrational devotion and grotesque ritual of

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[20] Dickens, *Little Dorrit,* 500; [Murray III], *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*, v (emphasis mine).

Catholicism that the rhetoric of the period also associated with the unknowable, exotic

other:

> Everybody was walking about St Peter's and the Vatican on somebody else's cork
>
> legs, and straining every visible object through somebody else's sieve. Nobody
>
> said what anything was, but everybody said what the Mrs Generals, Mr Eustace,
>
> or somebody else said it was. The whole body of travellers seemed to be a
>
> collection of voluntary human sacrifices, bound hand and foot, and delivered over
>
> to Mr Eustace and his attendants, to have the entrails of their intellects arranged
>
> according to the taste of that sacred priesthood. Through the rugged remains of
>
> temples and tombs and palaces and senate halls and theatres and amphitheatres
>
> of ancient days, hosts of tongue-tied and blindfolded moderns were carefully
>
> feeling their way . . . General was in her pure element. Nobody had an opinion.
>
> There was a formation of surface going on around her on an amazing scale, and it
>
> had not a flaw of courage or honest free speech in it.[21]

The first metaphor of this passage critiques modern tourism, postulating that

tourists are so detached from the experience of seeing popular sights such as "St. Peter's

and the Vatican" that they walk on "cork legs"—a reference not to the material from

which prosthetic limbs were made at the time, but to the fact that the "best kind of them

[artificial limbs] were made in London on Cork Street."[22] This comparison of tourists in

Rome to a crowd of legless people is not just a grotesque that calls attention to the

absurdity of modern tourism; it also situates that absurdity right in the capital of Roman

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[21] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, 536-37.

[22] Edward J. G. Forse, "Wooden Legs," *Notes and Queries* 170 (June 13, 1936): 427.

Catholicism. That these prostheses are "borrowed" compounds the image's awkwardness and also calls to mind to the financial restrictions of middle-class tourism. Modern tourists, according to this logic, do not have the faculties—wits, knowledge, language, or education—to know where to walk and what to look at. In other words, their prostheses compensate for their deficiencies; or rather, pat information provided by books and tour guides substitutes for a proper Classical education.

By associating Eustace with Mrs. General (the embodiment of everything wrong with tourists), Dickens also suggests that Eustace is partly responsible for inspiring such a degraded culture of travel. The Dorrits, of course, were not alone in seeking aid in books and guides. The passage indicts "everybody" traveling in Rome as sharing in these pretentions. And the structure of Rome itself appears to support this ruse of mediated touring in kind: the paragraph preceding the passage above describes Rome as a place where "everything seemed to be trying to stand still for ever on the ruins of something else–except the water, which, following eternal laws, tumbled and rolled from its glorious multitude of fountains."[23] The sights of Rome resemble the tourists: the hyperbole of "everyone" echoes the hyperbole of "everything." Just like the tourists stand upon borrowed prostheses (a symbol of their unfitness for travel), the Catholic sights themselves stand atop other, older sights (Classical ruins).

The idea of the newer sights "trying to stand still" recalls a *tableau vivant*, the pleasure from which is derived in viewing people reenacting a familiar original image. Their tableau evokes the original just as a souvenir of Rome might evoke Rome itself. The Classical ruins are "authentic" Rome underneath the striving actors. This image of

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[23] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, 537.

newer sights—Catholic buildings that are feigning importance, pathetic in their striving ("seemed to be trying to..."), and standing upon sights of Classical importance–critiques how new tourists have turned their attention away from that which had been valued in prior generations as the proper object of the tourist's gaze: Classical Rome. People such as Eustace and Mrs. General are like these newer objects, standing upon the ruins of Classical Italy to look at newer sights. These new tourists and their guides were replacing the supposedly fit pre-war travelers, the Classically educated Grand Tourists who could stand on their own legs and did not need the likes of a Mr. Eustace and a Mrs. General to point to that which should be seen. The upshot of this mockery is clear: it presumes that this fit, eighteenth-century tourist once existed, and also assumes that the implicitly vulgar Eustace was most certainly not one of them. Both of these assumptions are mistaken. As the first chapter of this dissertation will show, Dickens' authoritarian portrait of him in *Little Dorrit* is quite misleading. In truth, Eustace's own rare combination of deep ecclesiastical and Classical learning uniquely qualified him to explain both the Classical and the Catholic sights abroad.

This highly provocative passage from *Little Dorrit* yields one more point that is essential to understanding the development of tourism in the nineteenth century. While the first half of the cork-leg passage criticizes the tourists who attempt the vulgar process of refinement via tourism, the second half turns its attention to Eustace and the form of guidance that had become metaphorically akin to a "priesthood." The tourists have been "bound hand and foot," voluntarily no less, in sacrifice at the feet or the altar of Eustace and "his attendants." As we follow this extended metaphor, the grim, cultish entourage of tour guides then arranges the "entrails of their intellects" accordingly–i.e. the basest parts of their minds—as if they were practicing a West Indian Obeah ritual, or

in light of Eustace's Catholic faith, some sort of exotic popish ceremony. The next sentence presents the tourists—called "moderns" in order to distinguish them from their proper Grand Tourist forebears—as unable to talk or see, led zombie-like around the sites. These zombie-tourists, who are intellectually disemboweled and stripped of speech and sight by the priesthood of tour guides, then "feel their way" through the sights of Rome. Playful alliteration ("rugged remains" and "temples and tombs") lead into a brief catalog of Roman sights through which the blind and gagged tourists grope in a burlesque juxtaposition of high and low. Emerging from this passage, we see a critique that modern tourism is like a superficial religious ritual in which you look at what authorities point to, follow the instructions of a priest-like guide, and make sacrifices. This type of practice focuses on external displays—iconography, imagery, architecture—rather than on genuine spirituality.

The great irony of this passage, one which is revelatory for our argument about middle-class British tourism emerging alongside an interest in exoticizing Catholicism, is that in invoking this Catholic-related imagery in service of condemning "Mr. Eustace" and what he represents, Dickens has generated an elaborate image system. His is a narrative style that, while abominating the middle-class addiction to Catholic iconography, relies upon our interest in ritual and compels us with ornamentation. The very thing condemned gives an extraordinary supply of energy for narrative filigree and momentum. The topic of tourism thus generates an unending supply of people and activities to criticize, and the critic always appears to be on the side of authenticity and true knowledge of history. That authentic history is British, Protestant, and anti-tourist.

The Ideal Traveler

The Continental Grand Tour, at least in the imagination of the nineteenth-century tourist, had once been the domain of the eighteenth-century gentleman, serving as the capstone of his Classical Oxbridge education. Lamb describes this figure as part of a "powerful myth" about British travel before the wars, one that often distracts attention from various other types of people who went abroad before the Continental Wars–for instance, women and non-aristocrats.[24] The power of that mythical gentleman-scholar looms large in the rhetoric of travel throughout the nineteenth century all the same, however apocryphal his dominance may have been. To borrow the words of Ali Behdad in *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (1994), the nineteenth-century tourist's obsession with this aristocratic man of leisure appears "marked by an anxiety of coming after what had come before."[25]

In nineteenth-century travel writers' allusions to the apocryphal Grand Tourist, one can locate a current of nostalgia that characterizes a sense of "belatedness" felt by the traveler arriving to the Continent after years of international conflict had left many of its cultural monuments in ruins and in a fashion that was perhaps less "Grand" than the imagined ideal. One can also find in this legendary figure what Linda Colley identifies as that period's tendency to conflate Britishness with an ideal of an aristocrat who had either fought or colonized on behalf of the country's security and economic

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[24] Lamb, *Bringing Travel Home to England*, 16.

[25] Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 13.

interests–an affection born from what she calls the "particular violence" of the period.[26]

As Britons started to travel in greater numbers after decades characterized by what

Saree Makdisi describes as "revolutionary crisis and transition," they also developed an

appetite for a version of history provided by their guidebooks, one that evoked this

powerful version of an English past when highly educated aristocrats had toured Europe

in a fashion that a new generation of travelers wished to emulate.[27]

Perpetuating the idea of an idealized, aristocratic traveler meant that guidebooks

consistently, and ironically, dismissed the very readers who needed them the most. As

we will see later, particularly in chapter four, this pattern did not so much discourage

travel; rather, it encouraged tourists to associate themselves with the dignity of the

imagined past and identify themselves with the status of traveler (as opposed to tourist).

At the beginning of his seminal guidebook, Eustace summarizes what he assumes is the

educational background of this idealized Grand Tourist, the very type of man whom he

presumes will be reading his book:

> As these pages are addressed solely to persons of a liberal education, it is almost
>
> needless to recommend the Latin Poets and Historians. Virgil and Horace, Cicero
>
> and Livy, ought to be the inseparable companions of all travellers; they should
>
> occupy a corner in every carriage, and be called forth in every interval of leisure
>
> to relieve the fatigue and to heighten the pleasure of the journey. Familiar

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[26] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 149.

[27] Saree Makdisi, *Making England Western: Occidentalism, Race, and Imperial Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), ix.

acquaintance or rather bosom intimacy with the ancients is evidently the first and most essential accomplishment of a *classical* traveller.[28]

Based on Eustace's characterization here of the ideal traveler, it is possible that the person best prepared for the Grand Tour and the sights of Classical Italy—the one to whom the "pages are addressed solely"—would hardly need Eustace's book to begin with. It follows that such a traveler might also prefer to spend his "every interval of leisure" reading Latin poems and epics rather than Eustace's guidebook. If one were to believe the title of Eustace's book—*A Classical Tour through Italy*—one might expect it to illuminate the sights of the Grand Tour that also would be rendered legible by years of study in the Oxbridge tradition. Despite its titular affiliation to that tradition, however, Eustace's guidebook contains only sparse information about Classical ruins and a great deal more information about Catholic churches, iconography, and historical doctrine

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[28] John Chetwode Eustace, *Tour through Italy, Exhibiting a View of Its Scenery, Its Antiques, and Its Monuments; Particularly as They Are Objects of Classical Interest and Elucidation: With An Account of the Present State of Its Cities and Towns; and Occasional Observations on the Recent Spoliations of the French*, 2 vols. (London: J. Mawman, 1813), 1:5. John Cam Hobhouse (1786-1851), Byron's close friend and fellow traveler, declares his own sort of contempt for the tourist who does not conform to Eustace's idealized reader: "He who goes from home merely to change the scene and to seek for novelty; who makes amusement his sole object, and has no other view but to fill up a few months that must otherwise remain unemployed, has no need of mental preparation for his excursion. All that such a loiterer can possibly want, are a convenient post-chaise, a letter of credit, and a well-furnished trunk." See John Cam Hobhouse, *Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold: Containing Dissertations on the Ruins of Rome; and an Essay on Italian Literature* (London: J. Murray, 1818), 44.

than was ever made available in one place before. Although his book hardly conformed to the eighteenth-century Continental traditions to which belated nineteenth-century travelers sought access, it became a uniquely influential text to which all British travel writing of the period owed a debt of allegiance.

Part of the reason for which the *Classical Tour* became so influential in the nineteenth century is the fact of its timing. It was published in 1813, just as the wars with France began to abate and just as eager British civilians, who had been held at bay for so long during the generation of conflict abroad, anticipated Continental travel. To add to its cachet, the book mostly referred to a tour Eustace had taken in 1802—he was fortunate to travel during a brief window of peace between the Revolutionary Wars and the Napoleonic Wars—which meant that he offered a rare perspective on the effects of the conflict upon the sights and people of the embattled countries. Because of these factors, the *Classical Tour* remained in print throughout the century and became a canonical resource cited with deference by subsequent travel writers and guidebooks. Eustace's presumptive reader, however, hardly resembled the average traveler who made her way to the Continent in the decades that followed–a fact that the priest could not have foreseen.

Eustace's book satisfied a new sort of curiosity about Continental culture for a new sort of British tourist. Fewer leisure travelers embarked on a tour equipped with the Classical education necessary for appreciating the sights of antiquity–but it appeared that tourists were more interested in the more recent inhabitants of the Continent anyway. More to the point, observing Roman Catholicism abroad became a means by which British subjects confirmed both their suspicions about the inferiority of non-British nations and their belief in the superiority of Englishness–an identity inextricable

from Anglicanism. Many scholars—Linda Colley, Benedict Anderson, Ian Watt, and Saree Makdisi most prominently among them—have argued that the period under consideration in this project was one in which the modern sense of national identity consolidated in Great Britain.[29] According to their studies, Britishness—specifically Protestant in character—took on a special meaning and substance as a result of ideological and physical threats from France during the wars, disappointment following the loss of the American colonies, an evermore literate public, cheaper books and newspapers, and the potential of industrialization to reinvigorate Great Britain's economy. Colley explains the scope of this development:

> [F]rom the Act of Union [in 1707] to the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, Great Britain was involved in successive, very dangerous wars with Catholic France. At the same time and long after, it was increasingly concerned to carve out a massive empire in foreign lands that were not even Christian. In these circumstances of regular and violent contact with peoples who could so easily be seen as representing the Other, Protestantism was able to become a unifying and distinguishing bond as never before. More than anything else, it was this shared religious allegiance combined with the recurrent wars that permitted a sense of British national identity to emerge alongside of, and not necessarily in competition with older, more organic attachments to England, Wales or Scotland,

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[29] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991); Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001).

or to county or village . . . [A]n uncompromising Protestantism was the foundation on which their state was explicitly and unapologetically based.[30]

As the nation was recovering from war, the basis of national identity shifted as it began to consider itself in relation to seemingly exotic non-Britons, and religion ("explicitly and unapologetically") became a particularly powerful index of otherness. Edward W. Said locates the institutionalization of the study of otherness in this same period: "[t]hink of the line that starts with Napoleon, continues with the rise of Oriental studies and the takeover of North Africa."[31] The aftershock of the wars with Napoleon changed the course of national rhetoric, according to Said's analysis. As I argue in this dissertation, British readers appeared to prefer travel writing that depicted Continental Catholics using the language of Orientalism. As we will see in the popularity of Ford's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* and in Morrell's journal, nineteenth-century readers were attracted to books that depicted Catholics as Eastern, feminized, languid, and irrational in opposition to stolid, rational, implicitly masculine Britishness. The rhetorical binary distinguishing West from East, as outlined by Said in *Orientalism* (1978), aligns with the ways in which nineteenth-century British guidebooks and tourists alike characterized the exotic rituals and artefacts of Catholicism they encountered on the Continent.

This dissertation identifies a new mode of British tourism that emerged in the aftermath of the Continental Wars, one that was particularly interested in Continental Catholicism, its people and its art. In this new interest, one can trace the emergence of a

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[30] Colley, *Britons*, 18.

[31] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1995), xviii.

British national identity strongly associated with Protestant exceptionalism, despite efforts by writers such as Eustace, Palgrave, Ruskin to encourage tourists to see beyond their prejudice. In addition, reclaiming the Grand Tour—in whatever degraded fashion was available to tourists after 1815—was one way to cope with the shocking trauma of decades of war. By Orientalizing Continental Catholics, British Protestant tourists could make sense of their relationship to countries with which they had been at war for so long. In the rhetoric of Orientalism, according to Said, the "European is a close reasoner; his statements of fact are devoid of any ambiguity; he is a natural logician." In contrast, the "Orientals or Arabs are . . . shown to be gullible, 'devoid of energy and initiative, much given to 'fulsome flattery,' intrigue, cunning . . . 'lethargic and suspicious,' and in everything oppose the clarity, directness, and nobility of the Anglo-Saxon race."[32] My argument suggests that when it came to nineteenth-century British tourism to the Continent, we can replace "European" with "British traveler," and "Oriental" with "Catholic," and the logic holds up. For instance, Morrell's project of documenting the exotic customs of Catholics became a central focus of her journey, revealing her in the grip of what Behdad calls "an obsessive urge to discover an 'authentic' other" and to define it in opposition to herself and her Protestant English friends.[33] Said explains the logical conclusion of Orientalist ideology: "there are Westerners, and there are Orientals" and thus "the former dominate" and "the latter

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[32] Ibid., 38-39.

[33] Jemima Morrell, *Miss Jemima's Swiss Journal: The First Conducted Tour of Switzerland* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1998); Behdad, *Belated Travelers,* 13.

must be dominated."[34] When we consider this ideology in the context of mass tourism in the nineteenth century, we can interpret international British travel as a less violent form of the nation's ongoing colonial projects elsewhere on the globe. Tourists and colonists alike could justify their behavior by maintaining a belief in the inherent superiority of British culture and its privileged relationship to its god.

From Emancipation to Orientalism

This dissertation examines the Orientalizing rhetoric of British Continental tourism in the nineteenth century, but it begins with a chapter about Eustace and his *Classical Tour* to show that the transition from Classical to Catholic sightseeing ironically came about under the guidance of a man committed to Catholic emancipation. Palgrave and Ruskin—subjects of my second and third chapters, respectively—also documented Continental travel and Roman Catholic art and architecture in a fashion that did not exoticize Catholic art and architecture, but their motives differed from those of Eustace. Palgrave's *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1842) celebrated early-Christian artworks, deploying measured explanations of the artisanship so as to educate rather than titillate.[35] After hearing complaints from so many regular correspondents and friends, however, Murray III replaced Palgrave in 1845 with G. B.

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[34] Said, *Orientalism*, 37.

[35] John Murray III conceived of, wrote, and published the first three guidebooks for the Murray firm. His father, John Murray II (1778-1843), claims to have invented the word "handbook" to describe the genre. See Michael Grimshaw, *Bibles and Baedekers: Travel, Tourism, Exile, and God* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 20.

Maule (1811-1850), a friend who was less interested in ecclesiastical art. In a move that signifies the shifting public taste for exotic representations of Catholicism, Maule revised the introduction of the book in order to reform its original advocacy of early-Christian art and reorient its aesthetic approach toward the Renaissance. (Noticeably, he deleted Palgrave's first paragraph, which had mentioned Eustace.) When Ford's *Handbook for Travelers to Spain* (1845) came out to great reviews in that same year, Murray III's editorial decision seemed vindicated. An article in the *Quarterly Review* remarks that Ford's is "the best English book [about Spain], beyond all comparison," and adds that Palgrave "should never have done a handbook"–a reaction that emblematizes the difference in the reception of the two volumes.[36]

Changes made to the second edition of Northern Italian handbook reveal the way in which the new genre acknowledged and responded to the expectations of its increasingly expert readers and reviewers. One of the most famous contributors to the Northern Italian handbook's third edition (1847)—also edited by Maule—was Ruskin, the subject of my third chapter. In Ruskin's letters to Murray III from abroad, where he was making extensive use of Palgrave's handbook while on tour, he listed as many flaws as he could find. Of course, the young critic had something of a bone to pick with the publisher who had rejected the manuscript of his first major book, *Modern Painters I* (1843), a couple years earlier. As the third chapter demonstrates, Ruskin's conflict with Murray III would continue throughout the course of their lives, and despite authors' early collaboration in the third edition of the handbook, Ruskin continued to argue that

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[36] [John Gibson Lockhart], "Article IV: A Hand-book for Travellers in Spain. By Richard Ford," *Quarterly Review* 76:151 (June 1845): 74, 76.

the publisher's handbook series misled travelers and championed the wrong sorts of cultural artefacts. Under the influence of Palgrave, Ruskin developed into a deft champion of the art and architecture of medieval and Byzantine Christians, whom he believed expressed greater piety in their work than Renaissance artists. Ruskin considered Renaissance painters and architects to be little more than self-aggrandizing technicians. Instead of celebrating artists such as Raphael, Palladio, and the other canonical figures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that were so popular with Murry III and Ruskin's contemporaries (these were figures that Maule made more prominent in the second edition of the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*), Ruskin guided his readers' attention toward the early-Christian artisans whom he believed did credit to their religion by inspiring devotion with their humble, virtuous works. Even if Ruskin's tastes did not initially correspond with what was popular at the time, his writings and social philosophy inspired some of the most important aesthetic shifts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including the Arts and Crafts Movement initiated by his student William Morris (1834-1896), the sustained interest in the Gothic through the late Victorian period, and in the tenets still championed by the Guild of St. George, a group Ruskin established in 1871 as a "charity for the arts, crafts, and rural economy."[37]

My chapter on Ruskin ties together his aesthetic philosophy with his views on labor and social reform. He believed that England had been made ugly through

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[37] "Guild of St. George," Facebook, accessed December 2, 2015, https://www.facebook.com/guildofstgeorge/info/?tab=page_info; Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste* (London: Constable, 1950).

industrialization, and that the best way to reform society was to return to a system that supported the type of artisanship that could create great works of art and architecture– the Gothic in particular. Ruskin articulated this goal as early as 1856 in *Modern Painters III,* even before his writing had turned so fully toward politics, when he explained: "It is with a view (not the least important among many others bearing upon art) to the reopening of this great field of human intelligence, long entirely closed, that I am striving to introduce Gothic architecture into daily domestic use."[38] In chapter three, I contend that although Ruskin shared with most travel writers an ironic contempt for the very mass tourism that his writing facilitated, he conceded—by the end of his career at least—that he could take advantage of the widespread public interest in Continental tourism as part of a strategy for educating British citizens about his vision of social reform–and the ability to distinguish between good and bad artisanship was central to such reform. This aesthetic education was important because, in his view, a community that was healthy was also beautiful (and vice versa). Although during the course of his long career, the focus of Ruskin's writings, lectures, and correspondence changed from art and art history to political issues of labor and the devastating consequences of mass production and industrialization in Great Britain, tourism consistently remained at the center of his pedagogical methods.

Ford's handbook was among the most popular in the Murray series as well as one of the most inflammatory when it came to describing the Catholics of Spain, signaling that the tolerance-driven politics of Eustace's *Classical Tour* had lost its place to the

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[38] Ruskin, *Modern Painters III*, in *The Works of John Ruskin*, 5:138-39.

more titillating representations of Catholicism in the 1840s.[39] My final chapter turns

from the guidebook writer to the tourist herself in order to assess how the positions put

forth by Eustace, Palgrave, and Ruskin affected British touring habits and to determine

why bigotry like Ford's appealed to the British Continental tourist. Morrell's journal

justifies the editorial changes that Murray III made to his handbook series in the 1840s,

since it prefers to ridicule rather than admire Continental religion. In her journal, we

also can find an explanation for why Ruskin's admonitions grew increasingly acerbic in

the final decades of his writing career, as it appears that he absolutely reviled travelers

like her. Eustace would have turned in his grave if he had known of Morrell's behavior at

Catholic sites during her tour of the Alps, since she saw spectacles of Catholic ritual as

opportunities for condescension and amusement rather than as locations resonant with

cultural and religious meaning. For her, the Gothic was a genre best suited for quixotic

fantasy in times of boredom rather than a style that represented, according to Ruskin,

the genius of individual labor and the apex of human achievement. In Morrell's efforts

to retrace the steps of her literary heroes as one of Cook's sixty Swiss tour group

members, her anti-Catholic prejudice turned her into a tourist of the very sort that

Eustace sought to rehabilitate with his profound advocacy of tolerance and that Ruskin

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[39] One historian explains the success of Ford's handbook in an article marking the book's

centenary in 1945, noting that "in spite of its small type, its high price (thirty shillings), and its

unpretentious title, the book was an immediate success, no less than one thousand three

hundred and eighty-nine copies being sold in three months." See E. W. Gilbert, "Richard Ford

and His 'Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain,'" *Geographical Journal* 106:3/4 (September-

October 1945): 149.

tried to shame in works such as *The Stones of Venice* (published between 1851 and 1853) and *St. Mark's Rest*.[40] Though Morrell would have benefitted from the measured guidance of someone like Palgrave, who championed early-Christian cultural artefacts despite increasing public appetites for the later styles, her proclivities and prejudices would have predisposed her to prefer Ford's Orientalizing gaze.

Morrell traveled in the company of friends who, like her, were ardent Sabbath observers and stalwart members their local temperance society in Selby, Yorkshire. Morrell had arrived in Switzerland on the first Sunday of her journey apparently holding high expectations for Genevan Sabbath decorum; after all, Geneva had been the home of John Calvin (1509-1564), the founder of one of the most abstemious and somber strains of Protestantism. After witnessing decidedly indecorous behavior that day, she was immediately and irreparably convinced that her own country's mores and religious customs were superior to those of the Continent, and nearly every subsequent encounter with religion on the journey confirmed English superiority in her eyes. Furthermore, her journal shows that in her view the practices of Continental Protestantism—even in Geneva, which she initially celebrates as "the citadel of Protestantism!"—are just as debased as the those of the Roman Catholics whom she observes in their "strange dirty" chapels throughout the tour.[41] Morrell's respect for Continental religious culture is so low that her supposedly ardent British Christian values do not appear to have

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[40] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, vol. 10, *The Works of John Ruskin*.

[41] [John Murray III and William Brockedon], *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland, and the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont*, 9th ed., ed. Charles Marett (London: Murray, 1861); Morrell, *Journal*, 88.

discouraged behavior abroad that appears to have been brutish, disrespectful, and egregiously bigoted against the locals whose communities she and her Cook-tour friends invaded during their whirlwind journey. On the basis of her belief in British and religious superiority—a belief that she reaffirms in nearly every encounter with people whom she represents as irrational, languid, and feminized Continental subjects—there was no boundary worthy of her respect, and no religious space worth honoring: her journal records that she and her friends desecrated a small chapel in Kussnacht, broke into a cloister in Interlaken in order to reenact scenes from a favorite Gothic novel, and disrupted a restricted service at Notre Dame de Paris—an action for which she and her brother were expelled during their last Sunday of the holiday.

Morrell's journal quotes liberally from Murray's handbook series, Karl Baedeker's guidebook to Switzerland, Lord Byron (1788-1824), William Wordsworth (1770-1850) and even Ruskin, demonstrating her fluency with the guidebook and literary traditions that consistently decried her presence on the hallowed routes of the Continental Grand Tour. [42] Her disrespectful behavior abroad does not necessarily justify all of the fears

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[42] Karl Baedeker began publishing German-language guidebooks in the 1830s, but did not begin to publish in English until the 1860s. His first volume, in fact, was the very one that Morrell and her companions used in 1863. Karl Baedeker, ed., *Switzerland with the Neighboring Lakes of Northern Italy, Savoy, and the Adjacent Districts of Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Tyrol: Handbook for Travellers*, (Coblenz: Karl Baedeker, 1863); George Gordon, Lord Byron, *The Works of Lord Byron*. 11 vols., ed. Rowland Prothero (London: John Murray, 1904); William Wordsworth, *The Prelude: 1799, 1805, 1850*, ed. M. H. Abrams, Stephen Gil, and Jonathan Wordsworth. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1979).

expressed in conventional guidebook admonishments; after all, Morrell was a member of a coed, middle-class group, largely composed of single women who would not have been able to tour in such a fashion a generation earlier. This situation meant that in order to make use of the travel advice provided by her favorite literary figures, and in the guidebooks she relied upon for practical information, she had to ignore the snobbish rhetoric that proposed that only aristocratic gentlemen merited access to the Continent. These books that deemed her unfit for travel also served as constant reminders of both the degraded conditions of second- and third-class travel accommodations and the long, superior itineraries for which she and her friends had neither time nor money. In order to have some small taste of the adventures so often boasted about in the books that she and her friends had grown to love—books that they regularly reenacted and referenced throughout their journey—they made considerable personal and financial sacrifices. Morrell's journal proves that the new sorts of British tourists who went to the Continent in the nineteenth century were sophisticated enough to make their own meaning out of the works of their literary predecessors and their commercial guidebooks, despite the class condescension that suggested that she stay home.

CHAPTER ONE

Radical Catholicism and John Chetwode Eustace's *Classical Tour*:

The Unlikely Origins of the Nineteenth-Century Guidebook

> [T]he word *Roman* has been given us to intimate some *undue* attachment to the See of Rome. *Catholic* is an old family name, which we have never forfeited. The words *Popery* and *Papist* are particularly insultive.[1]
>
> –Joseph Berington, in *The State and Behaviour of the English Catholic Church from the Reformation till* 1780 (1780)

Halfway through Charles Dickens' *Little Dorrit*, which was serialized between 1855 and 1857, there is a derogatory reference to "Mr. Eustace": a writer, one would assume from the tone of this lengthy novel, whose reputation had been wholly discredited by midcentury. John Chetwode Eustace, depicted in *Little Dorrit* as a cultish idol worshiped by slavish tourists, was in fact an Irish priest who championed the cause of Catholic emancipation. His most famous volume, *A Classical Tour through Italy* (1813), was reprinted many times in the first half of the century, and on its pages we can recognize the origins of the modern tourist guidebook. Dickens' modern reader, however, needs at least one extensive footnote to appreciate the political, and even anti-Catholic, implication of criticizing Eustace's widely circulated volume. Embedded in its

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[1] Joseph Berington, *The State and Behaviour of English Catholics, from the Reformation to the Year 1781: With a View of their Present Number, Wealth, Character, &c.* (London: R. Faulder, 1781), vi (emphasis in original).

information about sites of the Grand Tour, Eustace's book presented a radical and extensive case for tolerance of Roman Catholics in Britain. Further, although the title of the book promotes a "Classical Tour"—referencing the traditional route that would be the capstone of an eighteenth-century gentleman's Oxbridge education—the book's detailed guidance of the Roman Catholic sites of Northern and Southern Italy re-centered the tour upon the cultural practices of Italy's contemporary inhabitants rather than those of its exalted ancestors.[2] Partly in consequence of Eustace's volume, the Victorian tourist's voyage to Italy became a tour of the artwork and architecture of the medieval and Renaissance periods, and all British guidebooks thereafter would follow his lead in explaining the treasures of Roman Catholic Italy to a largely Protestant readership.

Dickens' novel alerts us to the historical context that brought about this marked shift in British Continental tourism from classical to Catholic sites. *Little Dorrit* was published in the 1850s, but its action noticeably takes place in the 1820s ("[t]hirty years

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[2] Italian *Risorgimento*, which took place in waves throughout the nineteenth century, would affect how tourists were instructed to travel throughout Italy. Eustace's *Classical Tour* provides information about both Northern and Southern Italy while the John Murray publishing firm, which would publish the most popular guidebooks of the nineteenth century, produced separate guidebooks for Northern (1842), Central (1843), and Southern Italy (1853). See Martin Collier, *Heinemann Advanced History: Italian Unification 1820-1871* (Oxford: Heinemann 2003) and W. B. C. Lister, *Murray's Handbooks for Travellers* (Lanham, MD: University Publications of America, 1993).

ago" are its opening words).[3] In the years following the defeat of Napoleon Buonaparte (1769-1821) at Waterloo on June 18, 1815, leisure tourists from Britain were able to travel to the Continent for the first time in a generation. Although subsequent editions of the book shortened the title to *A Classical Tour through Italy*, the book's original title, typical of the longwinded fashion of his day, advertises classical bona fides that would have appealed to the sensibilities of tourists longing to reproduce a eighteenth-century Grand Tour: *Tour through Italy, Exhibiting a View of Its Scenery, Its Antiques, and Its Monuments; Particularly as They Are Objects of Classical Interest and Elucidation: With An Account of the Present State of Its Cities and Towns; and Occasional Observations on the Recent Spoliations of the French.* The title also sheds light on the French conflict, a feature that made the book unusual for its time–very few books about leisure travel had been published during the quarter-century of war with France, therefore the indication at the end of this title that the author would discuss its "Recent Spoliations" promised a rare glimpse at the consequences of the war that forever changed the sights of the previous century's Grand Tour.

Eustace's book proved significant because of the auspicious timing of the author's own Continental journey, which took place at a precise historical moment of respite between the Revolutionary Wars of the 1790s and the Napoleonic Wars that followed.

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[3] The main character, Arthur Clennam, has just returned from China at the beginning of the novel. It is likely that his family is involved in investment schemes underwriting the Opium Wars. See Tamara Wagner, "Sketching China," in *A Century of Travels in China: Critical Essays on Travel Writing from the 1840s to the 1940s*, ed. Douglass Kerr and Julia Kuehn (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), 21.

This period is known as the Peace of Amiens (1802-1803), a fourteen-month interlude in which the British and French—no longer at war—visited each other's countries without risk.[4] The interregnum created a bridge between the stylish Grand Tour of the eighteenth-century and middle-class mass tourism that gradually flourished after the Second Treaty of Paris was signed in 1815. Paradoxically, Eustace's account of his own voyage eventually succeeded in attracting a mass-tourist audience that did not possess the refined education of the Grand Tourist that he assumed his readers would have.

The pervasiveness of Eustace's volume in the first half of the nineteenth century is not at all surprising since it set so many precedents for the guidebook genre that served the new market for mass tourism. In order to lay the ground on which to explore the political significance of the nineteenth-century guidebook genre that sprang from the precedents set by Eustace in his *Classical Tour*, this chapter takes as its subject the historical context in which Eustace wrote—the years following decades of international war fraught with bitter public debate about whether or not to relieve British Catholics of legally sanctioned oppression—and the charged polemics and rivalries between members of the Catholic clergy who disagreed on the best strategy for affecting that change. Though the *Classical Tour* promises "[p]articularly" to guide its readers through scenes of "Classical Interest and Elucidation," in fact the substance of much of Eustace's book–Roman Catholic sites—subtly redirected the gaze of nineteenth-century tourists in order to inspire understanding and tolerance. As this dissertation will show, most

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[4] For a thorough account of the Peace of Amiens, see John D. Grainger, *The Amiens Truce: Britain and Bonaparte, 1801-1803* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004).

guidebooks of the nineteenth century—regardless of publishers' and authors' political or religious affiliations—would follow this precedent.

Just as significant, in its tone, Eustace's *Classical Tour* actually demonstrates contempt for the very tourists that would start to travel in greater numbers throughout the nineteenth century. In its contempt, Eustace's *Classical Tour* established a style— adopted by popular travel English guidebooks publishers such as John Murray III (beginning in the 1830s) and Karl Baedeker (beginning in the 1860s)—in which the books affect a patronizing tone toward ill-educated tourists despite the fact that they facilitated the very sort of middle-class tourism they denigrated.[5] What is less obvious about the *Classical Tour* is the powerful apology it makes for the primacy of Catholic architecture and art in the absence of the classical "elucidation" it promised to its readers. This study proposes that the cultural import of Eustace's influential volume lies not only in the high-handed attitude it takes toward the ill-prepared modern tourist, but also in how it explains Roman Catholic architecture and papal ritual in such a manner that made those sites and ceremonies central to nineteenth-century British tourism in Europe.

The Classical Tour, Elitism, and Nostalgia

Various aspects of Eustace's own life—he was Irish, he was a Catholic, he was a tutor for the Protestant elite—indicate that he did not conform to anyone's stereotypes about the typical eighteenth-century Grand Tourist. The reason for Eustace's popularity,

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[5] The John Murray firm started publishing its handbook series in 1836; the German Baedeker firm began publishing guidebooks in in 1827 but only began printing in English in the 1860s.

as substantiated by reviews of his *Classical Tour*, was that his explanations of popish ritual in Italy are sufficiently apologetic to render them unthreatening to the Protestant reader paranoid about aggressive Catholic politics, but at the same time authoritative, given that he was a Catholic priest. Eustace's pedantic tone enabled his readers to indulge in the ritualistic exoticism of Roman Catholicism that had been excised from the Protestantism that pervaded Great Britain. In achieving this balance between authoritativeness and diffidence, and replete with the Classical knowledge of history requisite in such a guide, Eustace's book uniquely could explain sights to the masses. Of course, Eustace himself could not have anticipated the new class of tourists who would benefit from his expertise, nor would he necessarily have approved of their use of his book. After all, as he informs his reader in the introduction that "these pages are addressed solely to persons of a liberal education . . . Familiar acquaintance or rather bosom intimacy with the ancients is evidently the first and most essential accomplishment of a *classical* traveller."[6] His emphasis on "*classical*" here even suggests that the ideal traveler's education would render his book's guidance unnecessary.

Taking into consideration that Eustace's tour and fame came about in a time of heightened activity and agitation for Roman Catholics in Great Britain, it is all the more

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[6] John Chetwode Eustace, *Tour through Italy, Exhibiting a View of Its Scenery, Its Antiques, and Its Monuments; Particularly as They Are Objects of Classical Interest and Elucidation: With An Account of the Present State of Its Cities and Towns; and Occasional Observations on the Recent Spoliations of the French*, 2 vols. (London: J. Mawman, 1813), 1:5 (emphasis in original).

remarkable that such a man—a Catholic priest no less—would become an intellectual favorite with his Protestant peers. In order to appreciate the reasons for which Eustace's book, above all other competing publications at the time, became an oft-published and oft-praised reference for the growing number of travelers in the era, one must consider the way in which the book manages its descriptions of Catholic institutions on the Continent while anticipating a largely Protestant readership–a subtle task at which Eustace appears to have succeeded. Note, for instance, the praise issued from the *Edinburgh Review* in its early review of the *Classical Tour*: "[Eustace] is by no means narrow-minded or uncharitable in his observations," the author writes, complimenting Eustace on the fact that "there is little or no bigotry mixed up with his enthusiasm."[7] The article concludes, in what can only be celebrated as a victory of equivocation for the priest, "we know not that his book is the worse for this peculiarity of his faith."[8] In short, Eustace's faith did not prevent the reader from enjoying the contents of the book.

One of the main clues to the longevity of the *Classical Tour* is the condescension that Eustace adopts toward any reader who was not a university-trained Classicist. In the introduction, he readily dismisses the uninformed tourist:

> He who goes from home merely to change the scene and to seek for novelty; who makes amusement his sole object, and has no other view but to fill up a few months that must otherwise remain unemployed, has no need of mental

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[7] [Henry Brougham and Edward Daniel Clarke], "Eustace's Tour in Italy," *Edinburgh Review* 21:42 (July 1813): 378.

[8] [Brougham and Clarke], "Eustace's Tour," *Edinburgh Review*, 378.

preparation for his excursion. All that such a loiterer can possibly want, are a convenient post-chaise, a letter of credit, and a well-furnished trunk.[9]

He later adds:

I have now pointed out [in this introduction] the preparatory knowledge which I think necessary to all travellers who wish to derive from their Italian Tour, their full share of information and amusement. I will next proceed, according to my plan, to point out such dispositions, as will contribute very materially to this object, by removing prejudices, and leaving the mind fully open to the impressions of experience and observation. All the dispositions alluded to, are included in one short but comprehensive expression, *an unprejudiced mind.* This excellent quality is the result of time and observation, of docility and benevolence.[10]

According to Eustace, the best way to derive "information and amusement" from one's tour of Italy is to approach the venture with what he describes as an "unprejudiced mind." But rather than a quality of ignorance, he defines this disposition as one that can only be attained through education as well as "time and observation, docility and benevolence." This method of touring—one which involves traveling with an "unprejudiced" and "open" mind—requires an extraordinary degree of preparation and a great deal of time for the journey. In other words, middle-class tourists could never tour in a style that would meet Eustace's standards.

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[9] Eustace, *Classical Tour,* 1:1-2.

[10] Ibid., 1:23 (emphasis in original).

Eustace's tone implies an inclusivity that is belied by the high standards he sets for tourist preparation: the passages quoted above invite the reader to occupy the imposing role of an eighteenth-century, implicitly male Grand Tourist. Eustace appears to be perpetuating here what Jonathan Culler theorized as a "sentimental nostalgia for unmediated experience, as if there was a time when the elite alone traveled and saw things clearly."[11] The *Classical Tour* followed in a tradition laid out by those supposedly elite, solo tourists, perpetuated in popular eighteenth-century works such as Joseph Addison's *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705), Thomas Taylor's *Gentleman's Pocket Companion for Travelling into Foreign Parts* (1722), and Thomas Nugent's *The Grand Tour: Containing an Exact Description of the Cities, Towns, and Remarkable Places of Europe* (1749).[12] Like these writers, Eustace addresses educated travelers who journeyed in the grand style of the eighteenth century. Unlike these men, however, Eustace wrote for an audience that no longer made up the bulk of travelers, but the pretentions and prejudices he espoused on its pages were exactly the ones that those aspiring toward refinement coveted.

Evidence of this nostalgia for aristocratic leisure of course extends well beyond the pages of *Classical Tour*. One can see it in the overnight popularity of Lord Byron's

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[11] Jonathan Culler, "The Semiotics of Tourism," *Framing the Sign: Criticism and its Institutions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 167.

[12] Joseph Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (London: J. Tonson, 1817); Thomas Taylor, *Gentleman's Pocket Companion for Travelling into Foreign Parts* (London: Thomas Taylor, 1722); Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour: Containing an Exact Description of the Cities, Towns, and Remarkable Places of Europe* (London: S. Birt, 1749).

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, an epic in Spenserian verse, published in three installments from 1812 to 1818, that narrates a young aristocrat's Grand Tour.[13] It was not until the fourth canto was published in 1818 that Byron confirmed in the preface what readers assumed from the start: that the book's eponymous hero's adventures closely followed those of the author. Byron personally perpetuated the caricature of the pre-war traveler for his post-war contemporaries, touring in a style that hearkened back to an earlier age of elite opulence. At the same time, he also championed non-classical architecture in his epic, reflecting the shift in the tourist's gaze from Classical to Roman Catholic sites. For instance, in a climactic moment of the fourth canto, the narrator remarks on the superiority of Christian architecture as he apostrophizes St. Peter's Basilica in Rome:

> But thou, of temples old, or altars new,
>
> Standest alone, with nothing like to thee—
>
> Worthiest of God, the holy and the true.
>
> Since Zion's desolation, when that He
>
> Forsook his former city, what could be,
>
> Of earthly structures, in his honour piled,
>
> Of a sublime aspect? Majesty,
>
> Power, Glory, Strength, and Beauty all are aisled
>
> In this eternal ark of worship undefiled.[14]

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[13] George Gordon, Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, vol. 1, *The Works of Lord Byron,* 6 vols. (London: John Murray, 1831).

[14] George Gordon, Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage: Canto the Fourth* (London: John Murray, 1818), 80.

As the poet celebrates the superlative grandeur of this great example of Renaissance architecture, he specifically notes how its beauty exceeds that of "temples old" in addition to "altars new." In the preceding stanza, he has already remarked that, compared to this seventeenth-century edifice, the "Ephesian miracle"—a temple to Diana (Artemis) in Turkey (one that, he reminds us, "I have seen")—is now just a mere "cell." In this reduction, we can discern the growing interest in non-Classical art and architecture that would come to characterize the nineteenth-century British tourist's gaze.

Before sending his hero to Italy in the fourth canto of *Childe Harold*, Byron had circumnavigated the traditional route of the Grand Tour because of the wars–thus explaining Harold's first-hand knowledge of ancient Ephesian architecture. Byron's own idiosyncratic route exemplified the ways in which the economics of tourism had changed as a result of international conflict, and his style of travel reflected the changing conditions of the British aristocracy. As an impoverished member of that "pampered social elite," Byron never could even pay for the ostentatious carriage he commissioned for his Continental tour, built in imitation of Napoleon's own.[15] The recognition that the *Classical Tour* received when it was published—only one year after the first two cantos of Byron's epic poem—was born from the same yearning for aristocratic opulence that fueled *Childe Harold*'s popularity, however contrived or untruthful the leisurely past represented by this nostalgia may have been.[16] It is no small irony that the rise of

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[15] Fiona McCarthy, *Byron: Life and Legend* (London: Faber and Faber, 2003), vii.

[16] Duke Pesta describes the appeal of Byron's epic romance on readers of its time: "The far-off locales and exotic exploits of Harold resonated deeply with English readers seeking an escape

commercial tour-groups in the 1860s—hoards of Britons eager to be led toward the appropriate sites and instructed in the ways of proper tourism—was the consequence of anti-tourist rhetoric.[17] The conventions of travel writing that Eustace established were slower to change than the demographics of the tourist groups themselves, however. This is the reason why guidebooks, albeit inadvertently, continued to encourage tourists to imagine themselves as part of an exclusive community, even if in reality they were increasingly likely to be female, middle-aged, middle-class, and in a group. This phenomenon also helps to explain Eustace's fame as well as serves as a reason for which Dickens would chose him as the emblematic foe of good tourist practices in *Little Dorrit*.

Dickens, however, was not Eustace's first or harshest critic. John Cam Hobhouse (1786-1851), Byron's frequent travel companion, voiced his antipathy for the Catholic priest nearly thirty years before Dickens. Hobhouse's *Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold* (1818) cites Eustace twice with contempt, but in such a way that implies that by year, Eustace's name was synonymous with Italian touring. Hobhouse also mentions Eustace twice with contempt in the footnotes he authored for

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from the regimen and orderliness of the Enlightenment. Harold's decision to leave England and seek adventure and danger in far-off lands appealed to both the wanderlust of the pampered social elite and the imaginative fancy of the duty-bound middle class. See Pesta, "'Darkness Visible': Byron and the Romantic Anti-Hero," in *Bloom's BioCritiques: Lord Byron,* ed. Harold Bloom (Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004), 63.

[17] The final chapter of this dissertation will go into further detail about the rise of commercial mass travel.

the fourth canto of Byron's poem (1818).[18] In these footnotes, Byron's friend accuses

Eustace of inaccuracy, noting in one correction to Eustace's account of a ruin that the

old priest "appears never to have seen any thing as it is."[19]

Despite his antipathy for Eustace, Hobhouse nonetheless shared the opinion with

him that a visit to Italy required intensive study and careful preparation. In phrasing

that echoes the *Classical Tour*, ironic given Hobhouse's opinion of the priest, the

Historical Illustrations imparts to its readers that a proper understanding of Rome

"must be made the study rather of a life than of a casual visit," and thus tasks them with

spending their lives acquiring classical knowledge.[20] Hobhouse is exacting in the

arrangements that the traveler must make:

> The education which has qualified the traveller of every nation for that
>
> citizenship which is again become, in one point of view, what it once was, the
>
> portion of the whole civilized world, prepares for him at Rome enjoyments
>
> independent of the city and inhabitants about him, and of all the allurements of

[18] Although Byron appears never to have denigrated Eustace, in an 1817 letter to his publisher

John Murray, he complains that Eustace received £2,000 for a long, didactic poem on the

"Culture of the Youthful Mind" (which Eustace never finished or shared publicly). Byron

indicates that he would gladly start writing similarly long poems if it meant that he, too, could

receive that much in compensation. See Byron, "Letter 671: To John Murray, Sept. 4, 1817," *The

Works of Lord Byron*, (London: John Murray, 1904), 4:165.

[19] See John Cam Hobhouse, *Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold:

Containing Dissertations on the Ruins of Rome; and an Essay on Italian Literature* (London:

J. Murray, 1818), 240.

[20] Eustace, *Classical Tour*, 1:50.

site and climate. He will have already peopled the banks of the Tyber with the

shades of Pompey, Constantine, and Belisarius, and the other heroes of the

Milvian bridge.[21]

The "enjoyments and allurements" that Hobhouse describes have little relevance

to Rome in 1818. Instead, proper "enjoyments" involve using one's knowledge of

classical history to project images from the past onto the present: the "qualified" traveler

will "people" the banks of the Tiber with historical figures of ancient Rome.

Furthermore, the tourist seeing Rome for the first time can exalt that a classical

education has entitled him to citizenship. In a gesture that is deceptive in its apparent

populism, the narrator notes that this citizenship is non-discriminatory: anyone from

any nation with the proper education can claim it. Such citizenship has become "what it

once was" again finally because, after the defeat of Napoleon, British tourists could

return to Rome at last. The author reminds us that this city is once more, with his visit,

the "portion of the whole civilized world." The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that

"portion" historically meant "the part or share of an estate given or passing by law to an

heir or other beneficiary," suggesting in this context that Rome is re-inherited by the

civilized world; according to Hobhouse's logic, Rome belongs to England again (if one

takes his contempt for contemporary occupants of Continental Europe as a sign that he

does not believe them to be sufficiently civilized).[22] Another definition of "portion," in

which the word is followed by "of" (as it is here), means "a specified or limited quantity

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[21] Hobhouse, *Historical Illustrations*, 40.

[22] "Portion, n," OED Online, accessed February 23, 2016,

http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/148189?rskey=tnlLnn&result=1.

or amount of a substance, commodity, quality, etc." [23] On this view, Rome itself is the civilized world, and only the most educated of travelers may consider themselves its citizens. Education prepares one for citizenship in Rome, Hobhouse assures us, yet the Rome of which the qualified traveler is citizen is only accessible via imagination: "the present town may be easily forgotten amidst the wrecks of the ancient metropolis." [24] Ironically, the education that prepares the traveler for Rome requires the student to make a pilgrimage, even though the end result will be a historically informed hallucination held within the student's imagination.

Eustace, Ireland, and Cisalpine Catholicism

There is an important distinction to be made between the respective forms of contempt that Eustace and Hobhouse express toward tourists who do not possess the right kind of "liberal education." Because Eustace's sudden fame occurred at a time of heightened activity and agitation for Roman Catholics in Britain, his volume relies upon normalizing the Protestant tourist's encounter with Catholic art and architecture. Eustace's advocacy was part of an important discussion occurring within his contemporary British Catholic community over the best strategies for bringing about emancipation in Great Britain. Bernard Ward's classic account of the *Dawn of Catholic Revival in England: 1781-1803* (1909) remarks on the significant number of Roman Catholic leaders actively publishing essays and books in favor of emancipation during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, "which, in proportion to their numbers, was

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Hobhouse, *Historical Illustrations*, 50.

very considerable."[25] Moreover, Eustace's particular and divisive orientation towards Roman Catholic doctrine, considered in the following section of this essay, made his travel writing palatable to a wide, non-Catholic audience even though his stance rendered him a pariah to mainstream British Catholic leaders.

Eustace's hard-won reputation with Protestant readers led him to achieve a far stronger reputation as an authority on European travel than Hobhouse ever earned. His pedigree as a member of a historically significant Irish Catholic family helped earn him appointments among the Catholic elite, ultimately ensuring his status as a widely revered intellectual figure among both Catholics and Protestants alike, even if many Catholic leaders to despise him for his political stances. Eustace descended from a long-line of prominent Roman Catholics from County Kildare in Ireland, many of whom had agitated throughout history for religious reform. According to one early biography, Eustace descended from an "ancient and powerful" Anglo-Norman family, and that many of its members were key figures in the embattled history of Irish Catholicism.[26] The family notably included a Roman Catholic martyr named Maurice Eustace (d. 1581) who was "hanged, drawn, and quartered, for the faith, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth."[27] Though their careers share many similarities, John Chetwode was more fortunate in his pursuits than his ancestor: Maurice was educated in the Flemish Catholic tradition, and he was similarly active in his advocacy of religious reform in

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[25] Bernard Ward, *The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England, 1781-1803* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1909), 270.

[26] John Healy, *Maynooth College: Its Centenary History* (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1895), 206.

[27] Ibid.

England. When Maurice returned home from his Continental ecclesiastical training, however, he took Holy Orders in secret—an act forbidden by renewed Elizabethan penal laws—and his own father turned him in to Protestant authorities. [28] Fortunately for the reputation of the Eustace family, the next Maurice Eustace (1590-1665) became a Trinity Fellow, a member of the Bar, was elected Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in 1639, and after the Restoration of 1660, became Ireland's Lord Chancellor.[29]

John Chetwode Eustace's educational background followed the tradition set in place by his prominent Catholic ancestors. Like the Maurice (the martyr), Eustace studied in Flanders from 1775 to 1782 at an institution specifically founded after the Protestant Reformation for the purpose of educating expatriate Roman Catholics from the British Isles. Eustace remained on the Continent after his studies had ended to tutor sons of prominent Flemish and French dukes.[30] He was of the last generation of Catholic Britons forced to travel to the Continent to receive a proper Roman Catholic education because once the wars started in the 1790s, and safe transit was impossible, Ireland began to establish its own theological schools. In 1795, the Irish House of Parliament passed a bill entitled *An Act for the Better Education of Persons Professing*

[28] David Woulfe, "Irish Worthies of the Sixteenth Century," *Month* 68 (March 1890): 364.

[29] Alfred Webb, *A Compendium of Irish Biography: Comprising Sketches of Distinguished Irishmen* (Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, 1878), 174.

[30] G. Martin Murphy, "Eustace, John Chetwode (1761-1815)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed May 13 2015, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8937.

the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion.[31] In June of that year, King George III gave his Royal Assent to the bill, and a board of twenty-one trustees formed to establish the Royal Catholic College at Maynooth. Eustace's career benefited from this legislation since Bishop Thomas Hussey (1746-1803) appointed him to be the school's first professor of rhetoric. The school, the second of its kind in Ireland, performed a critical function in providing an education for Catholics who could not safely travel abroad during the wars. [32] It was indeed a mark of distinction to be the school's first professor of rhetoric, but Maynooth's *Centenary History* (1895) politely notes that when the school opened, "there were at the time no scholars yet to present themselves in his class-hall."[33]

The *Centenary History*'s venerating account of Eustace's life and relationship to Maynooth does not accurately represent how fraught with controversy the priest's

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[31] Healy, *Centenary,* 108

[32] Studies have suggested, however, that another function of the bill that led to the creation of Maynooth was to deprive the Continent of the funding that would otherwise be sent over with the British students attending Continental seminaries. See Liam Swords, *The Green Cockade: The Irish in the French Revolution 1789-1815* (Dublin: Glendale, 1989), 177.

[33] Healy, *Maynooth College*, 205. The *Centenary* makes no fewer than fifteen references to him and reproduces, in full, his obituary from the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1815). (See "A Memoir of the Late Rev. John Chetwode Eustace," *Gentleman's Magazine* 85:8 [October 1815]: 372). In contrast, the book published in celebration of the school's bicentenary, *Maynooth College: 1795-1995* (1995), makes only two passing references to the priest. (See Patrick J. Corish, *Maynooth College: 1795-1995* [Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1995], 17, 32.) This discrepancy indicates that associating the school with Eustace no longer carried as much weight after two hundred years as it had after one hundred years.

tenure actually was. His abrupt departure from the school in 1797 persists as the most mysterious event in his life, though his eventual fame explains why the school would belatedly attempt to shine a positive light on their affiliation later on. Eustace's stance against papal authority and his disagreements with local Catholic authorities may have turned him into a thorn in the side of the school's already beleaguered administration. After all, in the late 1790s, Maynooth was embroiled in conflict because many of its students were mired in the politics of Irish nationalism. Only one year after Eustace left, the school expelled seven of its lay-students and twenty-nine of its eighty-eight clerical students for having sworn allegiance to the United Irishmen. (Two of these young men would be executed for treason in Dublin.[34]) Accordingly, Eustace made his decision to leave Maynooth during one of the most dangerous times in the college's history, though his tolerance-driven politics and Anglophilia suggest that it is unlikely he was engaged with the more insurrectionary separatist groups on campus.

Once Eustace left Ireland, his writings and his associations became increasingly Anglophile, despite the fact that England systematically oppressed his countrymen and his fellow Catholics.[35] Eustace's Anglophilia was even a source of irritation to his famous

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[34] Corish, *Maynooth College*, 19-21.

[35] Eustace's Anglophilia moved him to ingratiate himself among Protestants. An early poem, quoted at length by Clayton, could be described as a lyric that wants to be a pastoral- a fitting emblem of Eustace's own national aspirations. The poem's speaker describes his longing to become an English swain, living out the thatched-roof fantasy so prevalent in poetry and paintings of the period:

As all alone I strayed on Thames's side,

friend, fellow Irish expatriate Edmund Burke (1729-1797). A reported dialogue dialogue held between the two men sheds light on this dynamic:

[Eustace] had offended [Burke] for a moment by speaking of Ireland in disparaging terms:

"Have I been mistaken in you?" said Burke, "I thought you had been an Irishman and a brother."

"Hear me," replied Eustace, "and judge. It is true that I was born in Ireland, but I left it early in life: my family and my connexions are English; to England I owe the best part of my education; and from Ireland I have derived no advantages except such as that education has procured for me."

And view'd a thousand beauties rising round,

I hail'd with filial love the swelling tide,

And kiss'd with tears the dear the hallow'd ground.

Grant me ye gracious powers! I ask no more,

The envied lot of Thames's happy swains,

To raise my humble cottage on its shore,

And rove unnotic'd on its flowery plains.

On a gambol, the speaker populates the Thames with shepherds and cottages. As he walks along its banks, he desires to "rove unnotic'd." His "filial love" suggests that the Thames is his own progenitor; the way in which he describes the "dear" the "hallow'd" ground along the Thames seems nostalgic, as if he is returning home as he walks. Qtd in Adam Clayton, *Sketches in Biography Designed to Show the Influence of Literature on Character and Happiness* (Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes, 1825), 387.

"You are right," answered Burke energetically and nobly, "for mere existence is a doubtful benefit; it may be a great blessing, or it may prove a curse; but that land which gave you mental being, that land which, by expanding and improving your faculties, raised you in the scale of intellectual existence, that should be, in your affections and feelings, your home and your country."[36]

Although the provenance of this conversation is neither reliable nor clear (Adam Clayton, its author, does not attribute it to any particular source), it offers us an opportunity to examine how Eustace ingratiated himself as an Irish Catholic among English Protestants. Sharing national identity provided Burke and Eustace here with a filial bond–Burke pairs "Irishman" with "brother." Eustace, however, disavows his Irish ancestry—"my family . . . [is] English"—and attributes all of his achievements to his education, which he contends (in a feat of specious logic) is English. The most important point of this conversation for the purposes of this chapter, though, is that Eustace eschews his home country and his Irish national identity, but he champions education. Everything Eustace ever published in his advocacy for wider religious tolerance and Catholic emancipation was predicated upon the belief that educating Protestants about Catholic history would bring about positive political change.

Eustace's career associated him with Great Britain's most powerful Catholic families and sent him on the trajectory that led to his eventual literary fame. In 1801,

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[36] Clayton, *Sketches*, 377-78. Thomas Hussey had introduced Burke to Eustace in the 1790s when Eustace was still in Ireland. The two corresponded frequently and Eustace even shared a great deal of his writing and execrable poetry with the famous political figure.

after serving as chaplain to the Jerninghams of Costessey Hall in Norfolk—a family linked in the late eighteenth century with the cause of Catholic emancipation—he set out on the Continental voyage that would later be the basis of his *Classical Tour*. He had been appointed to serve as the tutor to Philip Roche of Limerick, a relative of the prominent Roche family from County Kildare where Eustace was born, whom he would accompany on his 1801 Grand Tour.[37] In the fall of that year, while stopping in Vienna, Eustace and Roche encountered two young Anglican men making their leisurely way along a Grand Tour: John Cust, Lord Brownlow (1779-1853), to whom Eustace later dedicated his *Classical Tour,* and Robert Rushbrooke (1779-1845), who would later become a prominent Tory in the House of Commons.[38] Eustace explains that upon "finding that their views and tastes coincided," they "agreed to make the tour of Italy together."[39] Eustace took voluminous notes during their months abroad (1801-1802), and he was lucky enough to return home before Napoleon made his famous decree on May 18, 1803 to arrest all British travelers as prisoners of war.[40] Eustace found his way

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[37] In one of her famous letters, Lady Frances Dillon Jerningham complained of Eustace's dogmatic adherence to ritual during Lent in 1799. She tells her friend Lady Bedingfeld that one of their guests had to leave Costessey because "the fasting and praying was too much" for him. See Lady Frances Dillon Jerningham, *The Jerningham Letters (1780-1843)* (London: R. Bentley and Son, 1896), 150.

[38] Charles Tracy, "Colonel Robert Rushbrooke," The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History, accessed March 3, 2015, http://suffolkinstitute.pdfsrv.co.uk/.

[39] Eustace, *Classical Tour*, 1:1.

[40] For more information about Napoleon's rise to power and the British citizens whom he jailed during the war, see Marilyn Butler, *Romantics, Rebels, and Reactionaries: English Literature*

back into the company of prominent young men when in 1805, as tutor to George Petre at Jesus College, Cambridge, he made history by being the university's first Roman Catholic tutor since the Reformation. After Cambridge, he accompanied Petre to Greece and the islands of the Mediterranean just before publishing the *Classical Tour*. After the book came out, Eustace returned to the Continent in the company of Robert Smith, Lord Carrington (1752-1838) and George Capel-Coningsby, 5th Earl of Essex (1757-1838) to make notes for a new edition. While in Paris, Eustace penned his popular "Letter from Paris, to George Petre, Esq."—a polemic on the widespread damages wrought on France by Napoleon—which was subsequently discussed at length in the *Quarterly Review*.[41] Eustace spent the final months of his life traveling in Naples hoping to complete his revisions to the *Classical Tour*, but contracted malaria and died before he could return home.[42]

Eustace had become an intellectual favorite among elite British Protestants by the early 1800s, but this was in part because his views were certainly not those of

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and its Background, 1760-1830 (Oxford: Oxford University Press); Michael Lewiss, *Napoleon and His British Captives* (London: George Allen, 1962); and J. David Markham, "Prisoners and Writers: Napoleon's British Captives and Their Stories" in *Consortium on Revolutionary Europe* (1996), 121-34.

[41] [John Wilson Croker], "Eustace's Letter from Paris," *Quarterly Review* 12:23 (October 1814): 46-60.

[42] Eustace's remains were interred in St. Crocelle in Naples and became a minor point of interest for later tourists. Mariana Starke copied part of the tomb's inscription, for instance, in her popular *Travels in Europe Between the Years 1824 and 1828* (Leghorn/Livorno: Glaucus Maci, 1828), 298.

mainstream Roman Catholics. As Petre's tutor and companion, Eustace had associated

with the family of one of the most prominent advocates of Catholic emancipation:

Petre's grandparent Robert Petre, Ninth Baron Petre (1742-1801). Eustace and Lord

Petre espoused a particular philosophy about British Catholicism that came to be known

as Cisalpinism. The word "Cisalpine" itself ("cis" from the Latin preposition meaning

"on this side of") gestures toward the geographic and ideological divide between its

adherents and the Holy See.[43] Cisalpinists sought to end British persecution of Catholics

by severing allegiance to the Roman Court and the pope and by conceding to James I's

1606 Oath of Allegiance, a decree written in 1606 requiring English Catholics to swear

fealty to the British monarch and affirm his authority over that of the pope. An official

"Cisalpine Club" was established in 1792 based on principles originally presented by

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[43] "Cisalpine" refers to Catholics themselves both geographically and ideologically on the other

side of the Alps from Rome. The Cisalpine Club was established in 1792 based on principles

originally represented by Joseph Berington (educated, like Eustace, in Douai) in his *State and

Behaviour of the English Catholic Church from the Reformation, Till 1780* and *The Declaration

and Protestation Signed by the English Catholics in 1789*. Cisalpinists advocated for Catholic

emancipation in Great Britain by agreeing to swear the Oath of Allegiance established by James

I in 1606. They also believed that much of their conflict with the British government came from

unjust rulings of the Roman Court and overreaching power of the pope in the Holy See. Notable

Cisalpinists included lawyer Charles Butler, Dr. James Talbot (Vicar Apostolic of the London

District), Charles Berington (Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, also educated at Douai) Sir

William Jerningham (for whom Eustace would work in Norfolk after leaving Maynooth College)

and Lord Petre (the uncle of the Petre for whom Eustace served as tutor at Cambridge starting in

1805).

Joseph Berington (1743-1827)—a lay Catholic also educated in Flanders—in his influential works, *State and Behaviour of the English Catholic Church from the Reformation, Till 1780* (1780) and the *Declaration and Protestation Signed by the English Catholics in 1789* (1789). In the 1790s, the club elected Lord Petre to serve as its leader, continuing to meet despite the fact that a majority of prominent Roman Catholic bishops in Great Britain opposed their strategies and principles.

Much to the dismay of some of Eustace's clerical enemies, Vicar Apostolic John Milner (1776-1826) of the Midland District principle among them, Eustace published numerous essays espousing Cisalpine beliefs.[44] The consistent theme of Eustace's literary output—Catholic emancipation—became less controversial once it actually had been realized by the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829. Although Eustace's fame and legacy grew during the nineteenth century on account of the success and influence of his *Classical Tour*, posthumous references to his life either downplayed or ignored entirely the controversy surrounding his political and religious maneuvers as they lost their relevance to public discourse. Ironically, the Cisalpine views that made Eustace a controversial figure within the British Catholic establishment were also the very thing that made both his company and his writings so unobjectionable to the Protestant elite.

According to the biography of Milner, who served in the late 1790s as Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District (head of the Roman Catholic Church in England),

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[44] Milner was known for trying to thwart the efforts of the British Catholic clergy and laity who believed that British Catholics should have the authority to appoint and consecrate their own bishops without Papal approval. See Frederick Charles Husenbeth, *The Life of the Right Rev. John Milner, D.D.* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1862).

Eustace was shunned by the Catholic community in Ireland by the time he left in 1797, for apparently having "provoke[ed] the indignation of the Prelates of his native country" with his radical Cisalpine views.[45] Milner hated the younger priest, and in his later years, used the derisive epithet "the Rev. tourist" when referencing him in his writings.[46] In a letter Milner wrote to his ideological adversary Berington, he quips that Eustace, "instead of gadding with Protestants through classical scenes, ought to have been teaching Irish Catholics their catechism."[47] He also added that Eustace's writing "contains passages contrary to the *strict tenets of the Catholic faith.*"[48] Many Catholics who shared Eustace's views, however, suspected that ecclesiastic leaders in Rome opposed English national aspirations and thus were actively working against emancipation in Great Britain. In subscribing to the beliefs of this ostracized group of British Catholics, Eustace was in staunch theological and political opposition to many leaders in Ireland, influential Bishops such as Milner, as well as many of the Trustees of Maynooth College.

Berington's *State and Behaviour* articulates the philosophy that proved so divisive to British Catholics, and yet the presence of its philosophy on the pages of Eustace's *Classical Tour* meant it had a great deal of influence on nineteenth-century tourism as a result. In a passage typical of Berington's polemics, he writes:

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[45] Husenbeth, *Life of Milner*, 398.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.*,* 398 (emphasis in original).

It has been said—That I generally use the word *Catholic* without the restrictive

term *Roman;* and that I studiously avoid the words *Papist* and *Popery.* —It is

true, I have intentionally done so. Why should I apply an unnecessary epithet,

when the single appellation of *Catholic* sufficiently distinguished the party I was

describing? Besides, the word *Roman* has been given us to intimate some *undue*

attachment to the See of Rome. *Catholic* is an old family name, which we have

never forfeited.—The words *Popery* and *Papist* are particularly insultive.[49]

Here, Berington advocates that writers separate "Roman" from "Catholicism" in order

metaphorically to perform the work he hoped to achieve literally with his fellow

Cisalpinists. In the disagreements between Catholic leaders in the 1790s, one can

discern that which I would argue gave rise to Eustace's extraordinary popularity with a

predominantly Protestant readership throughout the nineteenth century: his investment

and interest in translating Catholicism to outsiders and his disavowal of orthodox

obsequiousness to papal authority. Eustace's attempt to articulate Catholic doctrine and

history for Protestants made it possible for him to be the voice of the Grand Tour during

the nineteenth century: most everyone could share an antipathy for Napoleon, and in

the aftermath of the wars, this antipathy meant that Protestant British tourists would be

interested in the cultural artifacts that Napoleon's armies had threatened and even

destroyed in their conquest. Since most of the countries of Continental were (and are

still) predominantly Roman Catholic, Eustace's guidance was particularly timely. As

Britain inched toward Catholic emancipation, it became increasingly pertinent that the

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[49] Berington, *State and Behaviour,* vi (emphasis in original).

Grand Tour that had once been a secular pilgrimage to the capital of the Classical world (Rome) was also a religious pilgrimage to the capital of Catholicism.

The Reverend Tourist, Travel, and the Classical Tour

In articulating doubts about slavish devotion to the Pope in his *Classical Tour*, Eustace took a stance that ingratiated him to skeptical Protestant readers. As such, his much-read and widely praised *Classical Tour*, ostensibly about the Grand Tour, was a Trojan Horse for promoting a view of Catholicism unbound by papal authority–an authority that was most often cited by enemies of emancipation as the justification for Catholic suppression. Eustace's influence was great, though in the aftermath of Catholic emancipation his radical political message of tolerance would appear less striking to readers. By 1829, Roman Catholic churches selected by Eustace's *Classical Tour* had become a staple part of the tourist's route, thus it is easy for scholars to take their inclusion for granted and forget the highly charged context in which those sites were added. The achievement of *Classical Tour* was that it demystified for Protestant readers the seemingly alien aspects of Catholic ritual by placing those ceremonies within a familiar narrative of touristic consumption. Eustace's classical erudition provided a good cover for his radical Catholic philosophy and advocacy of religious tolerance.

We find Eustace's most overt political arguments at the back of the *Classical Tour,* in an appendix titled "On the Pope, the Roman Court, Cardinals &c." In this coda to the volume, Eustace offers an incisive doctrinal explanation for his unconventional religious views. He explains that reforms initiated at the 1431 General Council of Florence serve as the basis for modern papal supremacy, a power that modern Catholics falsely perpetuate, in Eustace's view, as it were a timeless tenet of their faith. Under

Pope Martin V (1369-1431), attendees of the General Council were the ones who decided

that the pope should "enjoy primacy and honor" and that "to refuse him would be

deemed an act of rebellion."[50] According to Eustace, the Catholic Creed (or the

"Apostles' Creed")—which predates Pope Martin V's council by 1,000 years—is the true

source of the "ancient and unadulterated doctrine of the Catholic Church."[51] To lend

further support to his argument, Eustace notes that he shares this view—that the Pope's

"power is purely spiritual"—with the most prestigious educational institutions of France:

its abbeys, seminaries, and universities. Most pertinently, he asserts the particularly

English quality of the doctrinal superiority by adding that this doctrine was "publicly

maintained by the English Benedictine college at *Douai*."[52]

   When we look at Eustace's professional activities at the time in which the

Classical Tour was published, we must read its forty-page appendix as a continuation of

arguments put forth in an essay he had published with Joseph Mawman, also the

publisher of the guidebook, only a few months earlier.[53] This work, the *Answer to the*

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[50] Eustace, *Classical Tour*, 2:615.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid., 2:645 (emphasis in original).

[53] In the early 1800s, Joseph Mawman (1757-1827) of York purchased a bookselling and printing

business from Charles Dilly (1739-1807), well-known Dissenter and friend of Samuel Johnson.

Dilly's firm had published the first editions of James Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides* (1785) and

Life of Johnson (1791). Mawman himself tried his hand at travel writing in 1805, publishing his

own book entitled *An Excursion to the Highlands of Scotland and the English Lakes, with*

Recollections, Descriptions, and References to Historical Facts. See Henry Richard Tedder,

Charge Delivered by the Lord Bishop of Lincoln to the Clergy of that Diocese, presented the priest's provocative rebuttal to arguments made by Archbishop, Sir George Pretyman Tomline in his *Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese* from 1812.[54] Tomline was a well-known opponent of Catholic emancipation, a tutor and close friend to William Pitt the Younger (1759-1806), and was later consecrated as Bishop of Winchester. Tomline's *Charge*—written as a follow-up to his enormously popular *Refutation of Calvinism* (1811), which went through six editions in one year—argues that British Catholics already enjoyed enough tolerance: "No one can be a greater Friend than I am to Toleration properly so called . . . I contend, that Roman Catholics are already in complete possession of Religious Toleration."[55] He calls theirs "a state of Toleration, or of something more than Toleration, in the Kingdom," and argued that Catholic allegiance to the pope compromised loyalty to the British sovereign.[56] Tomline claimed that emancipation was "incompatible with the safety of our Constitution both in Church and State."[57] In his response, Eustace criticized Tomline for characterizing Catholics as

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"Dilly, Charles (1739-1807)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed December 13, 2014, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7671?docPos=1.

[54] John Chetwode Eustace, *Answer to the Charge Delivered by Lord Bishop of Lincoln to the Clergy of that Diocese* (London: Mawman, 1813) and George Pretyman Tomline, *A Charge to the Clergy of His Diocese in 1812 on the Claims of the Roman Catholics* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1812).

[55] Tomline, *Charge to the Clergy*, 5-6; *A Refutation of Calvinism* (London: C. Baldwin, 1811).

[56] Tomline, *A Charge to the Clergy*, 14.

[57] Ibid., 13.

dangerous to public safety, particularly given the fact that everyone was still quite

susceptible to panic, reeling as they were from the stress of decades of war:

> You know full well, my lord, the effects of such alarms, and I hope you also
>
> recollect the dangers that sometimes accompany them. The extreme facility with
>
> which the nation catches these panic fears is one of the most extraordinary
>
> features of its character, especially when contrasted with the good sense and
>
> sound judgment which are supposed to distinguish it upon other occasions.[58]

In contrast with this direct scolding of an illustrious public official, Eustace's *Classical*

Tour might at first appear anodyne with its cheerful dedication to the Protestant Lord

Brownlow, its advocacy of Virgil, and its musings on Italian weather. But the quick

sequence in which Mawman published both these two books forces us to appreciate

their shared political goal.

At the beginning of his polemical appendix, Eustace admits that what follows is

not "strictly speaking included in the plan of a *Classical Tour*," but that its contents are

"intimately connected with the destinies of Rome."[59] In *Answer to the Charge*, echoing

sentiments from Berington's *State and Behaviour*, Eustace explains: "liberty of worship

is essential to public tranquility."[60] The *Classical Tour*'s appendix shares this view,

aiming "to give the Protestant reader a clear and precise idea of the rights which every

Catholic considers inherent in the Roman See."[61] Although Eustace exaggerates when

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[58] Eustace, *Answer to the Charge*, 36.

[59] Eustace, *Classical Tour*, 2:613.

[60] Eustace, *Answer to the Charge*, 39.

[61] Eustace, *Classical Tour*, 2:613.

claiming to represent "every Catholic" (given that his views were radical rather than common), he believes that if the conflict between Protestants and Catholics is a result of misunderstanding Church doctrine, then by clarifying that doctrine they can find peace.[62] Eustace's Cisalpine views offer that possibility.

The *Classical Tour* curries sympathy for Catholic emancipation explicitly in the appendix and implicitly throughout the rest of the work using two main strategies. First, the author seeks to undermine the widely held notion that British Catholics must split their allegiance between the pope and the reigning British monarch. Second, while guiding the reader through Italy, the author showcases Roman Catholic architecture, rituals, and saints with great zeal. In extolling the virtues of these notable Catholic figures and the art and architecture built to commemorate their faith, he reminds readers of the common values shared by all Christians. In his description of the sixteenth-century Milanese saint Archbishop Charles Borromeo (1538-1584), for instance, Eustace presents an inarguably virtuous figure that appears to be beyond reproach:

> Borromeo's body rests in a subterranean chapel in the Milanese cathedral, where
> it is exhibited on a shrine of rock crystal, on, or rather behind the altar; it is
> stretched at full length, drest in pontifical robes with the crosier and mitre. The
> face is exposed, very improperly because much disfigured by decay, a deformity
> increased and rendered more hideous by its contrast with the splendor of the

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[62] Ibid., 2:205.

vestments which cover the body, and by the pale ghastly light that gleams from

the aperture above.[63]

After this rather grotesque description, Eustace dedicates six pages to Borromeo's

virtuous acts and his centuries-long influence on Milanese welfare. This lengthy

encomium proposes what it believes is indisputable common ground with Protestant

readers on the definition of a good Christian: "the good protestant . . . will not quarrel

with the *Milanese* for supposing that the good pastor at his departure cast an

affectionate glance on his flock . . . and that he still continues to offer up his orisons for

his once beloved people through the common Lord and Mediator."[64] A footnote about

Borromeo's moral superiority extends into the next page, noting that the saint's virtues

have even extorted a reluctant compliment from Addison and even from Burnet,

and when we consider on the one side the spirit of these writers, and particularly

of the latter, and on the other recollect that *St. Charles Borromeo* was an

archbishop, a cardinal, and, what is still worse, a *saint*, we shall be enabled to

give this compliment its full value.[65]

In Eustace's view, the fact that the most reluctant anti-Catholics have approved of

Borromeo increases his value.[66]

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[63] Ibid., 2:347.

[64] Ibid, 2:351.

[65] Ibid, 2:352 (emphasis in original).

[66] Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), bishop of Salisbury, was most famous for writing a travelogue

entitled *Dr. Burnet's Travels, or Letters Containing an Account of What Seemed Most*

Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, France, and Germany, &c. (London, 1687). Apparently what

Eustace anticipates that reluctant Protestants can allow for some common ground in discussions on Christian virtues and good deeds; he also expects that most of his British readers would readily share his contempt for the French, whose wartime exploits left many churches in disrepair:

> Here indeed, as in every territory where the French domineer, appearances of irreligion too often strike the eye; neglected churches and plundered hospitals…are frequent spectacles as little calculated to please the sight as to conciliate the judgment, that looks forward with terror to the consequences of such a system of atheism.[67]

The disparity between the good saint's good work and Napoleon's brutality renders the latter all the more opprobrious. Under the dictator's regime, money reserved for completing the Milanese cathedral in Borromeo's honor had been "entirely confiscated."[68] Eustace holds French "irreligion" and its "system of atheism"—despicable to Protestants and Catholics alike—responsible for the "neglect" and "plunder" of churches and hospitals.

Eustace expects that his British readers will surely hate the French, and he trusts that they will share his views on what constitutes a good Christian deed. The priest also posits a theory of Catholic architecture uniquely suited to the tastes of British tourists,

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struck him as "most remarkable" along his tour was anything that confirmed his anti-Catholic prejudice. See Martin Greig, "Burnet, Gilbert (1643–1715)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* accessed May 13, 2015, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4062?docPos=2.

[67] Eustace, *Classical Tour*, 2:353.

[68] Ibid.

proposing that their shared Britishness, rather than their religion, could predict their reaction to architectural sites of the tour. Eustace's theories of Gothic and classical architecture, moreover, significantly prefigure the work of Ruskin, whose anti-Catholic prejudices did not render his insight into the biases of British tourists looking at Gothic architecture any less pertinent. Eustace anticipates why Britons might be confused about the meaning of Italian architecture, explaining that "all the great edifices dedicated to religion in our own country are Gothic and Saxon, while Greek and Roman architecture is seen only in palaces, villas, and theatres."[69] According to this view, when British tourists see an Italian church built in a classical style, they associate that building with opulence and power rather than piety. Because of this association, tourists run the risk of accidentally condemning the Italian Catholic church because the eye habituated to the Gothic believes that only the Gothic "is best adapted to the solemnity of religious offices."[70] To explain the contrast between Italian views and those of the English, Eustace helpfully explains that "[a]n Italian's prejudices run in a contrary direction: . . . the [Italian considers] Gothic or *Tedesca* [German style] . . . as an invention of the

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[69] Ibid., 344. In *The Stones of Venice,* Ruskin would write: "Thus the Renaissance manner of building is a convenient style for dwelling-houses, but the natural sense of all religious men causes them to turn from it with pain when it has been used in churches; and this has given rise to the popular idea that the Roman style is good for houses and the Gothic for churches." See John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice,* in *The Works of John Ruskin,* ed. Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. (London: George Allen, 1903-12), 10:123.

[70] Eustace, *Classical Tour*, 2:344.

northern barbarians, and a combination of disproportions and dissonances."[71] The Italian, he writes,

> looks upon the whole [Gothic] style as an ill assorted mass of incongruities, disproportions, encumbrance, confusion, darkness, and intricacy, well adapted indeed, as were the forests of *Scandinavia*, to the gloom and horror of Druidical sacrifices and Runic incantations,
>
> > Barbara ritu
> >
> > Sacra Deum, structae diris feralibus arae.
> >
> > Lucan.
>
> but very ill calculated for the purposes of a christian congregation, the order and decorum of its rites, and the festive celebration of its mysteries.[72]

It would be difficult, of course, for a non-classically trained reader to understand that the Latin verses here belong to Marcus Annaeus Lucanus's first-century poem about the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey. Eustace offers no translation in the first edition of his book. Perhaps acknowledging the needs of the readers who made the *Classical Tour* so popular, however, the book's sixth edition (published in 1819, four years after Eustace's death) finally added the translation in a footnote: "Where bar'brous rites profan'd the dark abodes / And altars rose to furies, not to gods."[73] Previously, these words referencing the "barbarous rites" and human offerings made at Caesar's

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[71] Ibid., 2:345.

[72] Ibid., 2:345-46.

[73] John Chetwode Eustace, *Classical Tour,* 4 vols., 6th ed. (London: J. Mawman, 1819), 4:14.

command (after forcing his reluctant soldiers to chop down a sacred forest) were illegible to the reader unfamiliar with Roman literature.[74]

The Gothic style evokes just as much confusion for the Italian Christian as untranslated Latin would for the untutored reader. For the Italian, according to Eustace, the style is so potent that it conjures pagan imagery from the furthest reaches of pre-Christendom: from Scandinavian forests, to the Roman legionnaires, to the druids of the ancient British Isles. Given the hypothetical Italian's extravagant and un-Christian reaction to the "confusion, darkness, and intricacy" of the Gothic church, Eustace concludes that the classical style is most appropriate style for church architecture in Italy. In training his British reader to understand architecture from the point of view of the Italian, Eustace also shows how inappropriate it is for the British tourist to hold the Italian's predilection for classical churches against him. How could the British tourist begrudge the Italian his straight, repetitive, and predictable ornamentation given the pagan frenzy Eustace has argued is the typical Italian response to the Gothic? Instead of misreading an Italian church built in a classical style as a sign of impiety, tourists equipped with Eustace's instructions would be able to approach and appreciate Italian sensibilities without prejudice.

Although Eustace worked hard to educate non-Catholics in order to inspire wider tolerance, Catholic authorities sought to punish him nonetheless. Various editions of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* throughout the nineteenth century repeated a

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[74] See North Pinder, *Selections from the Less Known Latin Poets* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869), 318.

story about Eustace's continued persecution by authorities originally published in an 1832 issue of the *Catholic Magazine*:

> Bishop Milner maintained that [Eustace's] "Tour" was pervaded by an "uncatholic and latitudinarian spirit," more dangerous than open heresies. Monsignor Weedall states that Eustace when on his deathbed bitterly bewailed to all his friends who visited him the erroneous and irreligious tendency of several passages in the publication.[75]

Husenbeth's *The Life of the Right Reverend John Milner* confirms this story as well, adding that Eustace had been preparing another edition of the *Classical Tour* with the intention to retract passages that had offended Catholic authorities.[76] We will never know what Eustace planned to retract in that unrealized second edition since he died so soon after the first edition had been published. Although his commentary on Catholicism provoked the ire of his orthodox peers, it was not objectionable to many Protestants. Milner's contention that the book was "more dangerous than open heresies" suggests his fear that its measured subtlety threatened to be quite convincing.

When the *Classical Tour* was published in 1813, Catholics in Great Britain were closer than ever to emancipation, and Eustace clearly hoped that the reasonable arguments he made on behalf of tolerance would further this cause. Its publication coincided with a time of fervent debate over the *Roman Catholic Relief Act 1813,* which proposed to offer relief for "His Majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic Subjects of Ireland"

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[75] Qtd. in "Eustace," *Oxford DNB.*

[76] Husenbeth, *Life of Milner,* 405.

from "restrictions imposed on them by King Charles II (1630-1685).[77] (In 1672, Charles II had mandated that British Catholics be denied the right to vote, elected to public office, and hold officer posts in the military.[78]) This legislation ordered that representatives chosen by the British monarch would be able to veto the appointments of Catholic bishops. Bishop Milner, Eustace's ideological enemy, was the only Vicar Apostolic to object to this bill–an action that endeared him to Irish Catholics. He argued that the bill "separated the Irish from the English Catholics" and "divided the last mentioned among themselves."[79] Milner also noted that the bill included "galling restrictions, so as to constitute it a Bill of *pains and penalties*, rather than of relief."[80] In short, this bill did little to relieve oppression.[81] Though over fifty such bills failed to pass during Eustace's lifetime, Eustace believed that his particular form of Cisalpine Catholicism was helping to sway the public to favor relief.[82] Given the fact that there

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[77] "Cap. CXXVIII," *Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, 53 George III. (London: His Majesty's Statute and Law Printers, 1813), 566–68.

[78] See "Charles II, 1672: An Act for Preventing Dangers which May Happen from Popish Recusants," *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80*, ed. John Raithby (London: Great Britain Record Commission, 1819), 782-85.

[79] Bernard Ward, *Eve of Catholic Emancipation* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1911), 127.

[80] Husenbeth, *Life of Milner,* 231 (emphasis in original).

[81] Ibid.

[82] One might argue that Joseph Forsyth's *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters, During an Excursion in Italy in the Years 1802 and 1803,* also published in 1813, would similarly offer this sort of guidance. Unlike Eustace, Forsyth had been captured by the French in 1803 after Napoleon ordered that all British men be arrested. He was held until 1814 and died shortly

were so few English books written in the first decade of the nineteenth-century about Continental travel as a consequence of years of war, the *Classical Tour*, much to Milner's dismay, had the potential to sell well and thus spread what he considered to be subversive heresy.

Also to Milner's dismay, positive reviews of Eustace's "Answer to the Charge"—published right before the *Classical Tour*—came in from all over the ideological spectrum, indicating that Eustace's was a voice that could appeal to diverse groups. The *Monthly Review*—a Nonconformist periodical famous for having published the very first literary reviews—praised Eustace's "considerable information and acuteness."[83] The *Critical Review*, a prestigious Tory periodical founded in 1756 by Tobias Smollett, calls Eustace "an able and enlightened opponent" to the "learned bishop [Tomline]."[84] Meanwhile, the *Monthly Repository,* a Unitarian periodical, presents the reader "with a few passages from the fine pen of this Catholic writer," allowing Eustace's argument to stand without commentary. [85] It is clear from these reviews that Eustace profited from

thereafter. His *Remarks*, unlike Eustace's *Classical Tour*, does not address the destruction of Napoleon or the revolutionary wars because he wrote the book in hopes of appealing to Napoleon's classical interests. He thought that if Napoleon admired his book, he might be released. He was not so lucky.

[83] "Eustace's Answer to the Bishop of Lincoln's Charge," *Monthly Review or Literary Journal* 71 (June 1813): 176-82.

[84] "Bishop Tomline's Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese; with Eustace's Answer to the Same," *Critical Review* 3:3 (March 1813): 313-18.

[85] "Review, *Answer to the Charge*" *Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature* 8:92 (August 1813): 527-28.

pointing out Tomline's careless deployment of the word "popery" and its derivative, "popish." As signaled presciently in 1780 by Berington's *State and Behavior*, using "popery" was becoming an index of a one's position vis à vis Catholic and Protestant relations. Tomline's profligate use of the term—he uses "popish" ten and "popery" eight times within the twenty-four pages of *Charge to the Clergy*—reflects the ideology articulated in the 1813 Relief Bill, which uses "popery" and "popish" eight times and refers to Catholic subjects as "Popish recusants."

Of Tomline's use of "popery," Eustace argues that "*Nicknames* are not arguments."[86] Eustace contradicts the Bishop, calling Tomline's claim that Catholic advocates were merely seeking political power in Britain "totally unfounded."[87] Eustace clarifies that what Catholics really sought was tolerance, which he defines as the opportunity to share the "influence and those honors, which Protestants of the same rank and condition either enjoy by their birth, or may attain by their exertions."[88] Tomline asserts that Catholicism is "a *system of politics*"[89] and points to "the sufferings of Protestants in every country of Europe where Popery has been predominant" as a way to curry favor with prejudiced Britons.[90] Eustace argues that the premise of Tomline's argument is unjust: "I am at a loss to guess the countries alluded to, as I conceive the toleration to have been more general for many years past in Catholic than in Protestant

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[86] Eustace, *Answer to the Charge*, 35 (emphasis in original).

[87] Ibid., 38.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid., 41 (emphasis in original).

[90] Tomline, *Charge to the Clergy*, 17.

countries." As evidence, Eustace lists various "republics that grew up and flourished" under Catholic rulers, reminding the Tomline (and readers) that cruelty enacted by Catholics and Protestants cannot be attributed to their respective religions but to the fact that their perpetuators were "semi-barbarians."[91] Eustace notes that the "cruel excesses" of the past Tomline had named "are to be imputed not to the benevolent religion which they both professed, for Christianity is essentially benevolent under all its forms, but to the spirit of the times, and often to the passions of the leaders."[92] Just like Eustace had waxed at length about characteristics of Borromeo in the *Classical Tour* as a way to show how Protestants and Catholics share a common belief in the value of good Christian deeds, here he argues that evil deeds should not impugn the "benevolent religion" which evil leaders claim to profess. Eustace's *Classical Tour* would go on to share many views with the *Answer to the Charge*, thus putting tourism into the service of emancipation.

The publication of the *Royal Assent of the Catholic Relief Bill* on July 12, 1813 coincided with the publication of the first article about Eustace's *Classical Tour* in the *Edinburgh Review*–an article co-authored anonymously by the magazine's editor and founder, Henry Brougham (1778-1868) and, shockingly, Eustace's very own friend and Jesus College colleague, Edward Daniel Clarke (1769-1822). There is no evidence indicating that Eustace ever found out that the very man who encouraged him to turn

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[91] Eustace, *Answer to the Charge*, 42.

[92] Ibid., 40.

his 1802 tour's notes into a book also co-authored its most negative review.[93] Brougham and Clarke's main critique was that the *Classical Tour*'s discussion of Catholic tradition was seductive enough to render it dangerous for the unsuspecting Protestant reader. The review, however, did little to stymie the popularity of his friend's publication—which coincided, notably, with the appearance of the second volume of Clarke's own *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa* (1810-1824).[94]

Brougham and Clarke's negative critique, though only one of eleven articles in that issue of the *Edinburgh Review*, takes up almost one-quarter of the edition's 224 pages. The authors discharge most of their limited praise for the *Classical Tour* in the article's brief introductory paragraph, calling it "one of the best" and its subject "the most interesting to which a traveller could devote himself."[95] They contend that the main flaw of the work is the very thing that distinguished it from all of the travel narratives that preceded it: its advocacy of Catholicism. The concluding sentence of the article's introduction—"Of the execution [of the *Classical Tour*], we must speak more in

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[93] This information renders particularly ironic the words of Eustace's first biographer, Adam Clayton: "To [Clarke] the public are indebted for the appearance in print of *The Classical Tour in Italy:* he had seen the manuscript journal of Eustace and earnestly recommended its publication, of which the modest author had previously entertained no intention." Clayton, *Sketches in Biography*, 384.

[94] Clarke eventually became very famous for this book, which was published over the course of fourteen years and fills eleven volumes. Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa*, 11 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1810-1824).

[95] [Brougham and Clarke], "Eustace's *Tour in Italy*," *Edinburgh Review* 21:42 (July 1813): 378-424.

detail as we proceed"—prepares us for the way in which the authors will henceforth characterize the writer under consideration: "Mr. Eustace is a Roman Catholic clergyman."[96] This brief sentence sets the tone for the article, introduces the specific topic on which the authors expiate for five pages straight, and to which the article returns many more times in its nearly fifty pages.

Brougham and Clarke do not aim for subtlety: they begin by characterizing Protestant tourists' interest in Catholic sights as sexual, warning readers that "Given Eustace's open, frank and manly avowal" of Catholicism, "our Protestants have themselves to blame, if they run the risk of seduction, by entering the scarlet gentlewoman's dwelling after reading so plain an inscription over the doorway." In this metaphor, the "inscription over the doorway" to which they refer is an excerpt they quotation from the introduction of the *Classical Tour* in which Eustace confronts and addresses any concern about his religious affiliation: "Sincere and undisguised in the belief and profession of the Roman Catholic Religion, the Author affects not to conceal, because he is not ashamed of its influence."[97] The paragraph quoted by the review also includes the sentence in which Eustace articulates the primary strategy he uses to solicit sympathy from Protestants: "Persuaded that [non-Catholics'] claims to mercy as well as his own, depend upon Sincerity and Charity, he leaves them and himself to the disposal of the common Father of All, who, we may humbly hope, will treat our errors and our

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[96] Ibid., 378.

[97] Qtd. in [Brougham and Clarke], "Eustace's *Tour in Italy," Edinburgh Review*, 379; Eustace, *Classical Tour*, 1:xi.

defects with more indulgence than mortals usually show to each other."[98] Eustace reminds the readers—Protestant and Catholic alike—how much more benevolent their shared god is than they are themselves, and he solicits his god ("we may humbly hope") to be merciful to them all.

If we extend the logic of Brougham and Clarke's metaphor, and if this is the "inscription" that hangs over the doorway of a high-end prostitute's ("scarlet gentlewoman's") dwelling, then the rest of the delights described in Eustace's *Classical Tour* are those of a (rather subdued) brothel. In other words, the appeal of Roman Catholic sights to the tourist are akin to that of a prostitute. The review does not condemn Eustace entirely, appearing to take the priest on his own terms by conceding that "[Eustace] is making a pilgrimage, where others are only on a tour; and his spirit is edified by contemplations, which merely excite their speculation, or, at the most, awaken secular and profane recollection."[99] Eustace's manner of seeing Italy, informed by his Catholicism, is "far different" than that of a Protestant traveler like Addison, for instance, whom they cite as if he is the ür-tourist of the previous century of travel. (Addison's famous *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* [1705] was a canonical text of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour.) In referencing Addison in their review, Clarke and Brougham bring up one of the most significant changes represented by Eustace's representation of Italy in the *Classical Tour*: the fact that it was far less "classical" than any previous travel writer had dared to let on. (Regarding Addison's tour, Horace

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[98] Qtd. in [Brougham and Clarke], "Eustace's *Tour in Italy*," *Edinburgh Review*, 379; Eustace, *Classical Tour*, 1:xi-xii.

[99] [Brougham and Clarke], "Eustace's *Tour in Italy*," *Edinburgh Review*, 379.

Walpole (1717-1797) once commented: "Mr. Addison traveled through the poets, not through Italy."[100]) If the new generation of tourists visiting the Continent after the Napoleonic Wars could not be assumed to have classical educations, and if British travelers were primed already to sympathize with Continental victims of the irreligious French Revolutionary wars, then Eustace's book could credibly threaten to undermine the style in which so many had approached the Grand Tour previously.

This first review does not accurately represent the positive public reception that greeted the *Classical Tour* in 1813. Its popularity certainly revealed that the reading public embraced his fresh perspective on the Continent and its tour, despite the suggestion in the *Edinburgh Review* that to do so was on par with soliciting a prostitute. The Irish priest was uniquely suited to produce a fresh account of the journey: observing these particular countries during the wartime interregnum was unusual enough for a member of his generation, but articulating its sights with his classical and ecclesiastical learning meant that his authority to choose what was important held a significance unrealized by previous authors. Clarke and Brougham were not wrong to suspect that the rituals and ornamentation of Continental Catholicism would hold a strong fascination for nineteenth-century British travelers. The final chapter of this dissertation, which takes as its subject the 1863 travel journal of Jemima Morrell, will certainly show that these non-Protestant sites could hold captive even the soberest and most moralistic of British travelers–particularly those obsessed with the Gothic.

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[100] Horace Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole: Fourth Earl of Orford,* 16 vols., Peter Cunningham (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1906), 1:60.

By explaining the architecture, art, institutions, and symbols of Catholic Italy, under the pretense of explaining Classical Italy, Eustace explicitly sought bring to fruition his own "warmest wishes": "Reconciliation and Union."[101] The eighteenth-century British pilgrimage to Rome had once represented the very epitome of a classical Protestant Oxbridge education–one which Eustace himself had personally transformed when he served at Cambridge as its first Catholic tutor in centuries. Nineteenth-century Grand Tourists, however, could no longer pretend that this pilgrimage was secular given the increasing religious integration towards which Britain was heading and given the twenty-five years of war and even longer history of conflict between Catholics and Protestants that was now coming to a head in England. Eustace's *Classical Tour,* with its fawning gratitude towards prominent Protestants and the author's sufficiently reliable Classical knowledge, was uniquely qualified to bear the weight of the country's post-war stress and its citizens' increasing desire to experience the erstwhile forbidden pleasures of Catholicism.

Clarke himself was on the verge of fame when the when he anonymously published his harsh article in the *Edinburgh Review*: his eleven-volume work would endure for decades–virtuosic in its international scope and depth of detail. Because the second volume of Clarke's book appeared in print just after Eustace's, the *Gentleman's Magazine* (a strong advocate of Catholic parity in public discourse on whose pages Milner and Berington would often debate one another) reviewed Clarke's and Eustace's

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[101] Eustace, *Classical Tour*, 1:xii.

books in consecutive articles.[102] The magazine's positive review of Eustace spans three different issues and fourteen pages, while the review of Clarke's new *Travels in Various Countries* quickly concludes in half the number of pages. The *Gentleman's Magazine* is adulatory of Eustace's *Classical Tour*, countering, it seems, any and all objections about his deployment of religion that Brougham and Clarke raised in their *Edinburgh Review* article. Its review of Clarke's book is much less positive by comparison. After acknowledging Clarke's "diligence," the reviewer laments that his "arguments have failed to bring conviction with them."[103] To compound the insult on Clarke's abilities as a scholar of antiquity, the review compares his findings unfavorably to those garnered on the same expedition by his travel companion, "Mr. Hamilton"—fellow antiquarian Richard William Hamilton (1777-1859)—whose *Aegyptiaca* (published in 1813 by John Murray) is deemed "excellent" in comparison.[104] In the first installment of the three-part review of Clarke, the author quotes Hamilton at greater length than he does Clarke.

The *Gentleman's Magazine*'s review of Eustace's *Classical Tour* begins on the same page where the second part of its review of Clarke's book ends, forcing the reader to consider the contrast between the works of the two colleagues and erstwhile friends.

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[102] "*Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa*; by Edward Daniel Clarke, L.L.D.," *Gentleman's Magazine* 84:1 (November 1814): 460-61; 84:1 (December 1814): 553-54; 85:1 (January 1815): 50-52. "Eustace's *Classical Tour through Italy*," *Gentleman's Magazine* 84:2 (December 1814): 554-60; 84:2 (December Supplement 1814): 649-51; 85:1 (March, 1815): 244-46.

[103] "Travels in Various Countries," *Gentleman's Magazine,* (December 1814): 554.

[104] Ibid.; Richard William Hamilton, *Aegyptiaca* (London: John Murray, 1813).

The magazine praises the priest's scholarly accomplishments and the way in which his book fills a need particular to its time: in the wake of the destruction wrought by what the review's author calls "the natives of this venerated country [Italy]," a new book such as Eustace's was "necessary . . . to inform us what changes have taken place in consequence of the recent political events; and such, as appears to us, has been the case in the person of Mr. Eustace."[105] The review barbarizes both the Italians and the French and uses the language of "infection" to describe the political influence of French Republicanism in Italy. This rhetoric sets the principles of the Continent in direct opposition to Eustace, whom the reviewer later calls the "Christian teacher"—notably not calling him "Catholic." According to this reviewer, Eustace's work helpfully rescripted the Continental tour for travelers who sought to navigate through the destruction in the aftermath of revolution.

Eustace's Legacy

The popularity of Eustace's *Classical Tour* long outlasted its author. The book went through six editions in as many years in England and became a nineteenth-century tourism classic. Despite the volume's enormous influence on a generation of travelers and on the guidebook genre as a whole, however, the profound impact of its political stance has not fully been appreciated by scholarly audiences. Keith Hanley and John K. Walton, for instance, have argued that Eustace's *Classical Tour* "was to be the last significant guide for the Grand Tourist addressed 'solely to persons of a liberal

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[105] "Eustace's *Classical Tour*," *Gentleman's Magazine,* (December 1814): 554.

education' with the explicit aim of 'moral improvement'."[106] Nearly all guidebooks in circulation throughout Britain in the nineteenth century, however, maintained a style of address that implied that very audience. It is also significant to note that in writing the *Classical Tour,* Eustace did not plan to initiate a new genre, nor did he think his audience would consist of anyone but those whom he "solely" addressed: aristocrats and people with "liberal educations." The fact that the series went through numerous editions before it began to translate Latin and Greek for the readers shows the degree to which the publisher did not anticipate its audience. Because of the particular timing of its publication, however, and because of the way in which it interlaced classical and Catholic information, Eustace's work stood out from the few guidebooks that were written since the wars with France had forestalled Continental travel. The *Classical Tour'*s explanatory—and often apologetic—interjections about Catholic views and Christian architecture in Italy were unique even compared against the other popular books on Continental tourism published around the same time. Of Joseph Forsyth's *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters During an Excursion in Italy in the Years 1802 and 1803* (1813) and Mariana Starke's *Letters from Italy Between the Years 1792 and 1798* (1800)—two of the very few volumes, besides Eustace's, which were written by Britons during the time of the wars—only Starke's was very popular, and even then her narrative style resembles eighteenth-century travel writing more than Eustace's does.

As we transform Eustace's reputation and reevaluate the importance of his *Classical Tour* in training the eyes of touring Britons toward Catholic art and

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[106] Keith Hanley and John K. Walton, *Constructing Cultural Tourism: John Ruskin and the Tourist Gaze* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 26.

architecture, Hobhouse's and Dickens' aspersions appear somewhat anomalous. If anything, writers throughout the century lionized the Cisalpine Catholic priest. References to him cite his expertise in a virtuosic range of fields, from obvious subjects of his expertise such as Italian tourism (*Evergreen* [October 1846]), French tourism (Henry Wansey's *A Visit to Paris in June 1814* [1814]), and papal ritual (*Westminster Review* [January 1879]) to the less obvious: English landscape (Ippolito Pindemonte's *Dissertazione su i Giardini Inglesi* [1817]), architecture (Thomas Morgan's *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements* [1886]), education (William Jerdan's *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century* [1830]), language history (Robert Chambers Hartford's *History of the English Language* [1837]), archeology (*Journal of the British Archaeological Society* [1885]), sailing routes (*The New Sailing Directory for the Strait of Gibraltar* [1840]), and even garden history (*Gardener's Magazi*ne [February 1840]).[107]

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[107] "Sketches from Abroad," *Evergreen* 3:10 (October 1846): 308; Henry Wansey, *A Visit to Paris in June 1814* (Bath: Richard Cruttwell, 1814), 152; "The Papacy: Its Early Relations with Roman Catholic States," *Westminster Review* 55 (January 1, 1879): 46; Ippolito Pindemonte, *Dissertazione su i Giardini Inglesi,* vol. 1, *Opere di Ippolito Pindemonte* (Napoli: Francesco Rossi, 1851), 266; Thomas Morgan, *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements: A History of their Discovery and a Record of Their Designs* (London: Whiting and Co., 1886), 168; William Jerdan, *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 5 (London: Fisher, Son, & Jackson, 1830-1834), 2; Robert Chambers, *History of the English Language* (Hartford, CT: E. Hopkins, 1837), 270; Thomas Morgan, "On the Baths of Aquae Solis, Restorations and Inscriptions," *Journal of the British Archaeological Society* 41 (March 1885): 382; John Purdy, "Bay of Naples," *The New Sailing Directory for the Strait of*

Though it hardly earned the attention or longevity of his *Classical Tour,* Eustace's poetry was well known by his acquaintances, was published in various magazines, and was famously praised by his friend Burke. The only direct reference Byron ever made to Eustace, in fact, was in an 1817 letter to John Murray in which he complained that "if Mr. Eustace was to have had two thousand for a poem on Education" that he too would "ask the aforesaid price for mine."[108] The poem for which Eustace reportedly received so much money—"The Culture of the Youthful Mind"—was never completed, though to quote the author's adoring obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1815): it "would have added much to his already high reputation" according to "those who had seen it, and who were well qualified to judge."[109] His reputation for poetry earned him a prominent place in a chapter titled "Outline of English Catholics since the Reformation," in *Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish, and Scottish* (1822). The book dedicates more pages to Eustace than to Shakespeare, Dryden, Pope, and three other poets combined, and quotes nearly the entire obituary from the *Gentleman's Magazine.*

It is telling that references to Eustace, especially toward the end of the nineteenth century, make little mention of his significance as an unorthodox Catholic writer–perhaps suggesting that Catholic emancipation helped to script the irrelevance of that aspect of his writing. The way in which Eustace educated his avid readers, however,

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Gibraltar (London: R. H. Laurie, 1840), 122; Giuseppe Manetti, "Garden Literature of Italy," *Gardener's Magazin*e (February 1840): 72.

[108] Lord Byron to John Murray II, September 4, 1817, in *The Works of Lord Byron*, vol. 11 (London: Murray, 1904), 165.

[109] "Memoir of the Late Rev. John Chetwode Eustace," *Gentleman's Magazine,* 372.

about his distinctive version of Catholic history—one that did not challenge British Protestantism in the least—had a profound impact on the movement toward emancipation and also on the degree to which Roman Catholic sites became regular stops on the Grand Tour. Ruskin's travel writings, for instance, which were widely read by tourists for their detailed descriptions of art and art history, hardly discuss classical landmarks.[110] The very first paragraph in the introduction to Murray's first *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1842)—to which Ruskin would add five years later—quotes Eustace in its first paragraph. The fact that the British Grand Tour of the eighteenth century made the transition from classical to Catholic in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars in no small part because of the popularity of Eustace's *Classical Tour* and its spirited discussions of Roman Catholic rituals and architecture. The volume therefore is both a relic of an era of genteel travel that could never be replicated again and a totem of the aspirational classes that would try to replicate it, nevertheless.

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[110] Incidentally, Ruskin nearly failed his classical studies at Oxford. See Tim Hilton, *John Ruskin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002).

CHAPTER TWO

John Murray III, Sir Francis Palgrave, Richard Ford, and Exotic Catholicism:

The Standardization of Nineteenth-Century Guidebook Rhetoric

> He should never have done a Hand-book. It is evident that he has pillaged for its purposes a private journal which ought to have been made public—not in fragments after this fashion—but entire. [1]
>
> –John Gibson Lockhart, in the *Quarterly Review* (June 1845)

The most important forebear of the commercial guidebook genre has a very unlikely origin. In 1768, after a late shift spent policing the naval dockyards of Chatham and an even later stint at a pub where he "accidentally got much in liquor," a twenty-two year old Scottish marine named John McMurray (1745-1793) was assaulted by a group of shipwrights "on account of some gallantry [he] was foolishly showing to a girl."[2] The marines promptly fired McMurray, a young veteran of the Seven Years' War, and he set off for London where he quickly used his young wife's sizeable dowry to buy William Sandby's bookselling company on Fleet Street.[3] When he made this risky and

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[1] [John Lockhart], "Article IV: A Hand-book for Travellers in Spain. By Richard Ford," *Quarterly Review* 76 (June and September 1845): 74, 76.

[2] Qtd. in Humphrey Carpenter, *The Seven Lives of John Murray: The Story of a Publishing Dynasty* (London: Murray, 2008), 10.

[3] McMurray's first wife was Nancy Weemss (1745-1776). When she died, McMurray married her sister Hester. Hester was the mother of McMurray's non-extramarital children, including John

extravagant purchase, McMurray's sole literary credential was his bawdy attempt at satire a year earlier–a story serialized in the *Court Miscellany* entitled *The History of Sir Launcelot Edgevile* about aristocrats, their mistresses, and their pimps.[4] Despite his inexperience and utter lack of success in every other endeavor he had pursued in his adult life, McMurray confidently proclaimed to a friend that "many blockheads in the [book] trade are making fortunes, and did we not succeed as well as these, I think it must be imputed only to ourselves."[5] When McMurray excised the distinctly Scottish "Mc" from his surname and established the John Murray publishing firm, he created a company that for six more generations of John Murrays (and still counting) would stand as one of the Anglophone world's most highly regarded publishing companies and, for the purposes of this dissertation, and one that would alter the course of tourism in the nineteenth century.[6]

Murray II. Carpenter, *The Seven Lives*, 10, 30. A more flattering account of the initial investment in Sandby's company indicates that the capital came from McMurray's father in Edinburgh. See Samuel Smiles, *A Publisher and His Friends: Memoir and Correspondence of the Late John Murray with an Account of the Origin and Progress of the House, 1768-1845*, 2 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1891).

[4] [John McMurray], "The History of Sir Launcelot Edgevile," *Court Miscellany* 3 (November 1767).

[5] Qtd. in Carpenter, *Seven Lives*, 11.

[6] Incidentally, the "Mc" (or sometimes "Mac") had only been added earlier in the eighteenth century by McMurray's father in an attempt to make the name sound more Scottish when he moved to Edinburgh–his brother "Colonel Murray" had participated on the losing side of the

McMurray was a wily business man and learned he could make a great deal of money by publishing books written by well-to-do physicians who demanded little payment in return for their manuscripts.[7] McMurray's son John Murray II (1778-1843)—decidedly soberer—eventually succeeded his father and turned the firm into a highly prestigious literary establishment. Under Murray II's direction, the family moved the company from Fleet Street to its famous 50 Albemarle Street address in the West End (where it remained until 2008). Murray II began to build the firm's literary reputation when he began to publish the works of famous luminaries such as Isaac D'Israeli (1766-1848), [8] Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), and Jane Austen (1775-1817).[9] In 1809, sensing an opening in the market for a Tory-leaning magazine, Murray II founded the *Quarterly Review* to serve as a counterweight to the popular and Whiggish *Edinburgh Review*.[10] Under Murray II, the firm made its first major mark on literary history when on March 10, 1812, it published the first canto of Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*–an event that prompted the author's oft-quoted line: "I awoke one morning and found myself famous."[11] The firm, Byron's sole publisher thenceforth,

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Jacobite uprising of 1715 and had fled to France for his own safety. See Smiles, *A Publisher and His Friends*, 1:1.

[7] Carpenter, *Seven Lives*, 33.

[8] Smiles, *A Publisher and His Friends*, 1:41.

[9] Carpenter, *Seven Lives*, 86.

[10] Smiles, *A Publisher and His Friends,* 1:143.

[11] Thomas Moore, *The Life of Lord Byron: With His Letters and Journals,* 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1854), 1:159.

became associated with the aristocratic young icon—though not without constant conflict between the sycophantic publisher and the mercurial poet—and the building that housed the Murrays and their offices became, for a time, the site of the era's most important literary circle in London.[12]

Bolstered by the success of his grandfather and father, and raised amid in the rarefied literary and cultural environment of his home, John Murray III was well-prepared to make the firm's second indelible mark on literary history in 1836 when he wrote and published the *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*–the first in a series of travel guidebooks that would remain in print for nearly seventy-five more years.[13] This volume initiated the modern guidebook genre—the influence of which we can recognize today in our *Fodor's Travel Guides*, *Frommer's, Rough Guides,* and *Lonely Planets*—characterized by its geographically organized recommendations and its promise of reliable, accurate information about practical aspects of a trip (timetables, currency rates, and so forth) that depended upon frequent updates and revisions from the publishers. According to Murray III, the idea for the series came about when his

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[12] Byron referred to the famous gatherings as the "Murray's Synod." See Carpenter, *Seven Lives*, 83.

[13] [John Murray III], *A Handbook for Travellers on the Continent Being a Guide through Holland, Belgium, Prussia, and Northern Germany, and Along the Rhine, from Holland to Switzerland: Containing Descriptions of the Principal Cities, Their Museums, Picture Galleries, &c.;—The Great High Roads;—and the Most Interesting and Picturesque Districts; Also Directions for Travellers; and Hints for Tours* (London: John Murray and Son, 1836).

"very indulgent father" gave him money to fulfill his "ardent desire to travel."[14] Murray III's trips abroad inspired him to create the series, as he recalls in the very first lines of the first handbook, because he, like "every Englishman visiting the Continent," felt "the want of any tolerable English Guide Book for *Europe north of the Alps*."[15] Murray III wrote four more volumes for the series but handed the authorship of the series over to trusted friends in the family's literary circle when he had to take over the firm when his father grew sick.[16] By the time Murray II died in 1843, Murray III had overseen the production of seven more titles in the series.

This chapter takes as its subject the most important stumbling block that faced Murray III during the initial surge in his handbook series' success. Its fifth book, the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1842), became the object of particular criticism that forced Murray III to switch its editor and dramatically reorient the claims

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[14] John Murray IV, *John Murray III 1808-1892: A Brief Memoir by John Murray IV* (London: John Murray, 1919), 40.

[15] [Murray III], *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent,* iii (emphasis in original).

[16] [John Murray III], *A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany Being a Guide to Bavaria, Austria, Tyrol, Salzburg, Styria, &c, The Austrian and Bavarian Alps, and the Danube from Ulm to the Black Sea* (London: John Murray, 1837); [John Murray III and William Brockedon], *A Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland and the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont, Including the Protestant Valleys of the Waldenses* (London: John Murray & Son, 1838). It should be noted here that in the early volumes, the Murrays sometimes hyphenated "handbook" and sometimes they did not. Murray co-authored the latter volume with his friend, artist and mountaineer William Brockedon (1787-1854).

made in its introduction.[17] Public and private critiques accused the volume of an un-Murray-like style and derided its favorable treatment of the ecclesiastical art of Tuscany and Venice. The most notable public criticism of the book came out in 1845, just a year before the firm was going to publish its second edition, when the editor of the Murray's own *Quarterly Review,* John Gibson Lockhart (1794-1854), used the Northern-Italian handbook as a foil for the comparatively popular *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845) by Richard Ford.[18] Letters sent to Murray III from a young art critic named John Ruskin also took issue with apparent mistakes in the Northern Italian handbook regarding various works of art in Tuscany. Criticism was strong enough for the publisher to fire Palgrave, the volume's first editor, but there remains no clear, consistent theme to the criticism to suggest any obvious interpretation of the editorial changeover. It is my contention that extant prejudice against Palgrave (a converted Jewish public official), his unfashionable preference for early-Christian art and architecture, and his handbook's non-prejudiced take on Roman Catholic culture in Northern Italy made for an unpalatable read for most British tourists in the 1840s.

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[17] [Sir Francis Palgrave], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy: States of Sardinia, Lombardy and Venice, Parma and Piacenza, Modena, Lucca, Massa-Carrara, and Tuscany as Far as the Val D'Arno with Travelling Map and Plans* (London: John Murray, 1842).

[18] [Richard Ford], *Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home. Describing the Country and Cities, the Natives and Their Manners; The Antiquities, Religion, Legends, Fine Arts, Literature, Sports, and Gastronomy, Past and Present: with Notices on Spanish History,* 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1845).

Murray II hired Palgrave in 1839 to write the Northern Italian handbook,[19] and the famous public record official-cum-antiquarian demonstrated his expertise on Italian art and architecture in his much-esteemed article on the subject in the *Quarterly Review* in 1840.[20] Evidence suggests that Palgrave's authorship of the handbook was not public knowledge until Lockhart's review came out in 1845, and commentaries on the first edition were positive until Palgrave's name was attached to it.[21] Despite Palgrave's many qualifications for the job, Murray III replaced him with G. B. Maule in December 1845 and declared Palgrave's separation from the handbook in an

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[19] Paul Tucker's "'Right Conclusions': Seven Unpublished Letters (1845-46) from John Ruskin to John Murray," *Annali D'Italianistica* 14 (1996): 583. Paul Tucker transcribed seven letters Ruskin to Murray III, sent between June 15, 1845 to April 15, 1846, at the Murray Archive when it was still housed at the 50 Albemarle Street address. Tucker published them for the first time in 1996 for the journal *Annali D'Italianistica*. They are not found anywhere in the Cook and Wedderburn Library Edition of Ruskin's extensive works (or anywhere else, for that matter). Today, the originals remain in the Murray Archive, now held at the National Library of Scotland. The NLS came into possession of the Murray Archives in 2004 when the publisher finally left its headquarters after 191 years of residence. The company was purchased by Hachette UK in 2008.

[20] [Sir Francis Palgrave], "The Fine Arts in Florence," *Quarterly Review* 66:132 (1840): 313-54.

[21] Palgrave continued to publish anonymously on the subject as late as 1843. See "Paintings of St. Christopher," *Gentleman's Magazine* 19:173 (April 1843): 383. The article cites "Mr. Murray's excellent *Hand-book of Northern Italy,*" but does not mention Palgrave. Mary Shelley also documents using the Northern Italian handbook in her *Rambles in Germany and Italy in 1840, 1842, and 1843,* 2 vols. (London: Edward Moxon, 1844), 2:35. She makes no mention of Palgrave.

extraordinary way.[22] The second edition of the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1846) opens with the following grandiose disclaimer proclaiming the editorial succession:

> The present edition has been materially altered from the first. Many omissions have been made, and additions as numerous, chiefly of information of a *practical* character—useful to travelers on the spot—have been added. It is proper to add that Sir Francis Palgrave, the author of the original work, has had nothing to do with this edition, and is consequently in no wise responsible for any statements occurring in it. *August, 1846.*[23]

This notice might give one the impression that something egregious must have taken place in the first edition. "Nothing to do with" and "in no wise responsible" prompt one to wonder at Palgrave's failure. In truth, a side-by-side comparison of the first and second editions of the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* reveals that "materially altered" might not be quite as "material" as the book's prefatory notice leads its readers to believe.

In order to understand the reasons for which Murray III issued this unprecedented (and never replicated) disassociation from its author in the second

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[22] Tucker, "'Right Conclusions,'" 585.

[23] [G. B. Maule], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy: States of Sardinia, Lombardy and Venice, Parma and Piacenza, Modena, Lucca, Massa-Carrara, and Tuscany as Far as the Val D'Arno with Travelling Map and Plans,* 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1846), vi (emphases in original). The third edition of the Handbook reprints this same with the same title ("Notice to the second edition") and retains the same date of that edition as well (August, 1846).

edition of the Northern Italian handbook, this chapter must begin by documenting the

conventions Murray III initially established for the series in the inaugural 1836

Handbook for Travellers on the Continent. Despite the claims Palgrave explicitly makes

about his allegiance to Murray III's methods in his handbook's introductory chapter, the

revisions in the second edition imply that the old antiquarian's work did not meet those

standards at all. The chapter then will turn to the actual text of Palgrave's 1842 edition

and compare its introduction and treatment of Italian art with that of the second (1846)

and third (1847) editions (the third differs from the second mainly in that it includes

text sent to the publisher by Ruskin–later a great enemy of the firm and its

commodification of Italian tourism). By comparing these volumes, we will see that the

most important changes occur in the introductory presentation of the text rather than in

the body of the work itself, suggesting that the performance of dissociating from

Palgrave was more important to the publisher than actually rewriting Palgrave's book.

In examining the subtle changes made to Palgrave's interpretation of Italian art and

architecture, however, we can also witness the publisher backtracking on the first

editor's approach to Roman Catholic art—Palgrave's unconventional tactic that

anticipated Ruskin's attention to craftsmanship also required a reader to suspend anti-

Catholic prejudice in order to appreciate it. In calling attention to the craftsmanship of

early Christians, both Palgrave and Ruskin struck out against religious and political

prejudices and Victorian tastes that preferred the Renaissance to medieval styles.[24]

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[24] For information about the ways in which Victorians of the 1840s expressed their preference

for the Renaissance, see Hilary Fraser, "Resurrected Spirit of Raphael" in *The Victorians and

Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992), 44-45.

Finally, we will conclude by comparing Lockhart's treatment of Palgrave's volume with his celebration of Ford's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*. According to the review, both volumes failed to measure up to the standards set in place by the publisher in his first handbooks, but Ford's is "the best English book [about Spain], beyond all comparison," nevertheless, while Palgrave "should never have done a handbook."[25]

Ford's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* spoke to an increasing public interest in exotic representations of Roman Catholicism that were slowly becoming a central focus of nineteenth-century Continental journeys. This was a trajectory initiated at the beginning of the century with the *Classical Tour* published by Irish priest, John Chetwode Eustace, who earnestly sought to explicate and demystify the rituals of Catholic faith for his readers.[26] Palgrave's particular perspective on early-Christian art was out of sync with the public preference for treating Roman Catholicism as mysterious and exotic. Ruskin would spend the greater part of his career trying to defend—often quite stridently—his very un-exotic stance regarding the superiority of early-Christian art and architecture. Ford's caricatures of exotic Spanish Catholicism, however, in

[25] [Lockhart], "Article IV," 74, 76.

[26] John Chetwode Eustace, *Tour through Italy, Exhibiting a View of Its Scenery, Its Antiques, and Its Monuments; Particularly as They Are Objects of Classical Interest and Elucidation: With An Account of the Present State of Its Cities and Towns; and Occasional Observations on the Recent Spoliations of the French*, 2 vols. (London: J. Mawman, 1813). We will see in the final chapter of this dissertation the lengths to which non-Catholic English tourists would go to immerse themselves in Roman Catholic tourism when we turn to Jemima Morrell's journal. See Jemima Morrell, *Miss Jemima's Swiss Journal: The First Conducted Tour of Switzerland* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1998), 99.

contrast with Palgrave's reverence for the delicacies of Giotto (1266-1337) and the Byzantine architecture of Venice, resonated better with the largely Protestant readership.

In the early 1840s, Britain was barely past the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829 and still mired in the Oxford and Tractarian Movements affecting the identity of the Anglican Church at the time.[27] The 1840s, which culminated in the reestablishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England, marked a period of religious uncertainty, thus any book about Roman Catholic culture and history was politically charged, even if it took the form of a seemingly benign travel guidebook. Unlike Palgrave's Northern Italian handbook, Ford's Spanish handbook was much less interested in the nuances of local artisanship and much more concerned with documenting the apparently alien Spanish national character. The subtitle of Ford's handbook speaks to this proto-anthropological focus: *Describing the Country and Cities, the Natives and Their Manners; The Antiquities, Religion, Legends, Fine Arts, Literature, Sports, and Gastronomy, Past and Present: with Notices on Spanish History*. Palgrave's subtitle, in contrast, merely lists the destinations covered in his route in a style typical of the series. Ford complained that Murray III had published the first edition of the Spanish handbook "*minus political, military, and religious discussions,*"[28] but it still retained a great deal of its brazenness ("The whole nation, in religious matters, is divided only into two classes—

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[27] See Owen Chadwick, *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement: Tractarian Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[28] Richard Ford, *The Letters of Richard Ford,* ed. Rowland E. Prothero (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company), 196 (emphasis in original).

bigoted Romanists or infidels: there is no via media").[29] Ford's deep intimacy with a terrain that was largely unfamiliar to the British public, as well as his incendiary pronouncements about the country's Catholicism liberated him from some of the conventions that bound his fellow handbook writers. Even a somewhat less enthusiastic review of Ford's handbook in the August 1845 issue of the *Athenæum* allows that its "value is very great: it renders the book absolutely indispensable."[30]

 The 1840s were a period in which the Murray firm exponentially increased the number of different handbooks it published as well as rapidly reissued editions of its already popular routes. According to W. B. C. Lister's comprehensive bibliography of the series, between 1836 and 1913 the company published twenty different books for tourists to use abroad and twenty-two books for touring within the United Kingdom—all of which went into successive editions. (John Murray III himself claimed that there were twenty-nine domestic-route handbooks by 1887.[31]) In 1839, the Baedeker firm in Germany profited from Murray's model and began to publish German-language guides (some of which were unauthorized translations of Murray's handbooks). For approximately sixty years, three generations of John Murrays oversaw the publication of the profitable series, but by the end of the nineteenth century, the famous firm ceased its production when the Baedeker firm's less literary, more pragmatically arranged

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[29] Qtd. in Lockhart, "Article VI," 78, emphasis in original.

[30] "Reviews," *Athenæum* 931 (August 30, 1845): 852.

[31] W. B. C. Lister, *Murray's Handbooks for Travellers* (Lanham, MD: University Publications of America, 1993), iii-iv; Murray IV, *John Murray III*, 39.

books finally became more popular.[32] In all the years of the series' run, the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* was the only title that ever articulated an editorial changeover in such a dramatic fashion.

Murray and Palgrave

Until the John Murray firm established the handbook series, readers had to consult travel books written in a style typical of the eighteenth century: travel diaries, letters, and expostulations about the historical significance of noteworthy sites. Eustace's *Classical Tour* had proposed a new sort of model of travel writing, one which dictated a prescribed route and illuminated its sights with scholarly observations in a prescriptive fashion. The Murray handbook series was the first to codify and standardize this form, acknowledging the pragmatic needs and educational deficits of the modern British traveler that emerged in the aftermath of Waterloo. These travelers did not necessarily have the same network of contacts as eighteenth-century tourists, nor were they equipped with the cultural training that made the historical sights legible and interesting. A guidebook that condescendingly pointed out these deficits would never

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[32] See Palmowski's extremely thorough chapter on specific comparisons between the Baedeker and Murray Handbooks. She argues that Baedeker guidebooks replaced those of Murray because "[i]n the 1860s, the Murray's unadulterated English flavor had been a clear advantage over the distinctly European Baedeker. By 1900, the Murray had failed to keep pace with the Edwardian middle classes. These now identified with the Baedeker." Palmowski, "Travels with Baedeker: The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian Britain," in *Histories of Leisure,* ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002), 120-21.

do, however. So the *Handbooks* adopted a familiar tone yet genteel tone: one that flattered the reader while simultaneously estimating that he or she had a low level of prior knowledge about the destination and its history.

Murray III's personal experience as a tourist in the 1830s—particularly in Switzerland, Belgium, and Italy—taught the young publishing heir that there was an untapped market for the sort of practical guidance that a handbook could provide. During his tour, he noted that only Mariana Starke's *Travels on the Continent* (1820) proved to be "of real utility" in Italy.[33] Specifically, in his view, the value of Starke's book was that, "amidst a singular medley of classical lore, borrowed from Lemprière's [Classical] Dictionary [1788]. . . it contained much practical information gathered on the spot."[34] In his 1889 memoir, where Murray III recounts how he conceived of the handbook series, he gestures toward Starke's pragmatism as a source of inspiration. The passage that praises the "utility" of her book, however, is actually more sarcasm than encomium. It mocks Starke's quirky digressions ("an elaborate theory on the origin of *Devonshire Cream*" and "the charges in washing-bills at Sorrento and Naples").[35] Of Starke's stylistic peccadillos, the one for which Murray appears most contemptuous is the first he lists: her "singular medley of classical lore," which, he notes derisively, she "borrowed" from the *Bibliotheca Classica*–a canonical compilation of classical mythology that had been in print since 1788.[36] Murray's reference to the famous

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[33] Murray IV, *John Murray III*, 41.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., 42.

[36] John Lemprière, *Bibliotheca Classica* (London: T. Cadell, 1788).

dictionary serves two purposes. The first is that it reduces Starke's scholarly learning to that which can be easily attained in the most widely accessible and obvious of resources. The second purpose of his glib dismissal is to show how useless her second-rate erudition is to the traveler. In short, by dismissing Starke's attempts at including classical information in the context of a guidebook to Italy, Murray III signals an important shift that took place in the tourist gaze during the nineteenth century. In the aftermath of Waterloo, following the quarter-century of wars that thwarted Continental tourism, the ruins of the Continent's ancient inhabitants had become less interesting to tourists than the art and architecture of its more recent ones: Roman Catholics of Italy, France, and Spain. Popular eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century travel books had been less concerned with details such as transportation, currency exchange rates, and passports (except where a compelling story could be told).[37] The genesis of Murray's handbook series, with its professed dedication to observational accuracy and

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[37] In contrast to the practical guidance of the new handbooks, the appendix to the first Canto of Byron's *Childe Harold*—considered to be a loosely disguised account of Byron's own idiosyncratic Grand Tour—lists for its reader some of the least practical phrases to use while in Greece, including: "Not so much ceremony I beg," "I go before to obey you," "Honor me with your commands," "With all my pleasure," numerous ways to declare oneself enslaved to another person, and at least five different terms of endearment to use with a lover. George Gordon, Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, 4 vols. (London: John Murray, 1829), 138-42. NB: It is completely within the scope of this dissertation to consider Byron's epic Spenserian "Romaunt" as a tourism text since Murray began to publish "pocket editions" of the book for the purpose of carrying it around while looking at the sights Harold saw. For instance, see the advertisement for "pocket editions" of Byron's "Poetical Works" in *Spectator* 14 (1841): 1104.

updated practicalities, signaled an end to the era of the "famous" traveler and a beginning of a time when the anonymized, collective voice of a savvy middle class could at last declare on its own behalf what it wanted to see and how.

Motivated by Starke's example, and inspired to work toward what he anticipated would be a profitable return on his labor, Murray III recounts how he filled "many dozens" of notebooks with "every fact" that he observed.[38] These facts included "Routes…History, Architecture, Geology, and other subjects suited to a traveller's need."[39] Inspired by Starke's example, he gathered his own observations "on the spot," and the notion of the "spot" would become the metric by which he would measure the authority of any guidebook thereafter. Murray III used the term "spot" to index an observer's credibility when describing a specific place at a particular time. When one is "on the spot," according to this metric, one has the authority to say what is there. The observer's authority diminishes in relationship to time or space away from the "spot" in question: if one writes about a place without having actually seen it, or if one saw it a long time ago, one has very little authority. According to Murray III's formulation, and since "spots" inevitably change over time, an authoritative guidebook must have two characteristics. First, it must accurately predict what a tourist will see at a particular point along the route. Second, the guidebook must update itself as frequently as possible. By using words that connote precision and authoritative observational methods, Murray III—the same man who would publish Charles Darwin's *On the Origin*

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[38] Murray IV, *John Murray III,* 41.

[39] Ibid.

of Species just two decades later—deftly affiliated his methodology with contemporary trends that held empirical observation in high regard.[40]

Murray's description of himself making observations abroad speaks to his desire to appear scientific: he had "dozens" of notebooks filled with "every fact as it occurred," and his overt "aim [was] to point out things *peculiar* to the spot."[41] By accounting for his own methods of careful observation in the opening pages of the first handbook, Murray established a new epistemology of prescriptive travel writing, one that professed allegiance to scientific methods and promised continual re-verification. Measured against this standard, writers of prior generations could only but fall short. The introduction to the first handbook proclaims its new standard by criticizing travel guides of the past for having been written by "persons not acquainted with the spots."[42] Murray reassures his reader that in a Murray handbook, by contrast, "many of the descriptions of the routes have already served to guide travelers abroad, and have thus been verified on the spot."[43] He takes personal credit for having visited "many spots to which [my] countrymen rarely penetrate" during "the course of repeated journeys and of partial

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[40] Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (London: John Murray, 1859).

[41] [Murray III], *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*, iii (emphasis in original).

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.*,* iv.

residences." This assurance guarantees the reader that their tour will have the special cachet of going off the beaten track—one of the book's many meritorious qualifications.[44]

Ensuring that the handbooks met Murray's standards of observational accuracy meant that he had to promise frequent updates. In service of this promise, he flamboyantly solicited corrections and revisions at the opening of every book in the series, holding his readers partly accountable for the integrity of his volume—an act that shows us that the performance of conforming to the high standard he set was integral to producing a proper Murray *Handbook* (since actual changes to new editions were not often as noteworthy as the advertising would suggest). Judging by the letters the publishing house received in the 1840s from famous people alone—including Ruskin, Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865), Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847), and Anna Jameson (1794-1860)—it appears that readers took this command to heart.[45] In Jemima Morrell's journal from 1863, we can observe that this practice had become routine for travelers when the author wryly describes how "while thinking of future fame Miss Sarah [Morrell's travel companion] fell asleep and that startling paragraph which was to have spiced the next edition of Murray and Baedeker only existed in her dreams."[46] Murray cultivated this sort of allegiance, even as early as this first handbook, when he asks permission to "throw himself on the indulgence of his readers, to excuse the

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[44] Ibid., iii. See my introduction for more information about the trope of the cachet of going off of the "beaten track," as theorized in great detail by James Buzard.

[45] These letters can be found today in the John Murray Archive located at the National Library of Scotland.

[46] Morrell, *Journal*, 55.

inaccuracies."[47] In italics no less, he "*most particularly requests all who make use* of it to favour him, by transmitting, through his publisher, *a notice of any mistakes* or *omissions which they may discover.*"[48] He also "begs to express his acknowledgements to numerous friends . . . who have obligingly favoured him with notes and corrections during the printing of the book."[49] Murray III's second and third handbooks— the *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland, Savoy and Piedmont* in 1838, and the *Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany* in 1839—exploit even further this solicitation, placing it on its own before the title page.

Murray III's solicitations were practical as well as performative: notes from travelers would ensure his series' accuracy as well as offload responsibility for accuracy to the tourists themselves. The publisher had to give up writing the handbooks himself anyway when he took over the firm from his declining father in the early 1840s. Palgrave was a suitable choice for the Northern Italian guide, since his rise from the shadows of family debt to the bar of the Middle Temple and an exalted post as the Head of Records for the British government made him a fitting representative for the sort of prestige that travel and worldliness could confer upon an ambitious Victorian. In addition to trying cases before the House of Lords and possessing a particular organizational genius that enabled him to restore order to the National Archive in the 1830s, Palgrave was also a classical and medieval scholar in his own right and wrote widely and in depth about art

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[47] [Murray III], *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent,* iv.

[48] Ibid., (emphasis in original).

[49] Ibid.

and architecture.[50] He was born Francis Ephraim Cohen in London to a Jewish family, and he spent much of his adolescence and adulthood supporting his family after his father lost all their money in a bad deal. Embarrassed by his father, Palgrave converted to Anglicanism when in 1819 when he married Elizabeth Turner Palgrave (1788-1852)–a transformation used against him by many rivals in ad hominem attacks for the rest of his life.[51]

Palgrave fought for nearly three decades with a rival in the public records office named Thomas Duffus Hardy (1804-1878), and their dramatic disdain for one another caused great deal of negative publicity. Although Hardy eventually succeeded Palgrave as the head of the National Records once Palgrave died, a misunderstanding in 1838 had prompted the older antiquarian to attack Hardy at the Tower of London (home to the records). Palgrave left the fight with two black eyes, however, and the event became notorious. "Literary London was talking and laughing over this droll affair," according to one account, particularly over the fact that Palgrave would not consent to a proper duel in the aftermath of the contest: "To the literary coteries it appeared very droll that

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[50] G. H. Martin, "Palgrave , Sir Francis (1788–1861)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* accessed May 1, 2014, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21157. A 1901 article in the Hampstead Annual sought to renew appreciation for Palgrave's significance as an art historian. See Richard Garnett, "Sir Francis Palgrave as a Precursor of Ruskin*," The Hampsted Annual* (London: Sydney C. Mayle, 1901): 51-62.

[51] John Sutherland, "Palgrave, Francis Turner," *The Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction,* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2013), 493; John Cordy Jeaffreson, "The Quarrel of Two Authors of the Nineteenth Century," *A Book of Recollections*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1894), 2:65-87.

the son of an Israelitish stock-broker, who had a few years since been the clerk of a firm

of solicitors, deemed himself debarred by his superior quality from fighting a duel with a

government clerk of Hardy's scholarly attainments and ancestral honour."[52] Fortunately

for posterity, although not for Palgrave's reputation, the famous humorist Reverend

Richard Harris Barnham (1788-1845) (also known by his pen name "Ingoldsby-Legends

Barham") had witnessed the fight and wrote twenty stanzas to commemorate it:[53]

    The Tower was the place—

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[52] Jeaffreson, "The Quarrel," 74-75.

[53] An article, often referring to Palgrave as "Cohen" (probably to evoke anti-semitic sentiment in

readers) documents his conflict with the Commissioner of Records in the 1820s through the

1830s: "the remuneration of Sir Francis Palgrave for his editorship of this work has formed a

very prominent and important subject of dispute." The article accuses him of unjustly

demanding higher payment for his work in the public records when he apparently had spent a

great deal of time publishing scholarly books and writing articles for the *Quarterly Review* when

he should have been working on the records. The article concludes that "If Sir F. Palgrave either

wholly or partially abandoned the practice of the law, in order to become an antiquary, he at the

same time abandoned the right to be paid at any other rate than that which suited the

importance of his adopted calling, and, unfortunately for him, the public do not consider that

the labours of the antiquary and the index-maker demand a very high order of intellect, or

deserve a very costly remuneration." See [John Bruce], "The Record Commission: Palgrave's

Parliamentary Writs," *Gentleman's Magazine* 2 (August 1834): 133-39; Emily Lorraine de

Montluzin, "Volume N.s. 1 (1834)," *Attributions of Authorship in the Gentleman's Magazine,

1731-1868: An Electronic Union List*, accessed April 5, 2016,

http://bsuva.org/bsuva/gm2/browse/GM1834.html.

That lasting disgrace

Of London, with murders so stained—

Where Palgrave the sage

In a devil of a rage

Thus his friend Duffus Hardy arraigned.[54]

Because of this startling occurrence, by 1845, people were accustomed to seeing

Palgrave as an upstart and a worthy target of derision.

Palgrave began life as a "an infant prodigy" (part of his contempt for his father

was based on the fact that he had published some of Palgrave's precocious childhood

poetry without permission) and maintained a certain degree of virtuosity in all his life's

pursuits, despite the occasional conflict with rivals.[55] His publication of two volumes of

Rotuli Curiae Regis: Rolls and Records of the Court Held before the King's Justiciars or

Justices (1831 and 1835, respectively) and two volumes of *Parliamentary Writs and*

Writs of Military Summons (1827 and 1834, respectively) earned him fame and

ultimately led to his knighthood in 1832.[56] Palgrave's interest in early-Christian art was

consistent with his legal pursuits in London. When he began reading for the bar in 1822,

he worked as a sub-commissioner for the public records. According to Palgrave's

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[54] Qtd. in Jeaffreson, "The Quarrel," 76.

[55] "[Review of] Palgrave, Sir Francis, K.H.: Collected Historical Works," *Literary Digest* 62 (July 1919): 79.

[56] Sir Francis Palgrave, ed., *Rotuli Curiae Regis: Rolls and Records of the Court Held before the King's Justiciars or Justices* 2 vols. (1831 and 1835); *Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons 1273-1327* (1827 and 1834).

biographer Richard Garnett (1835-1906)—who spent nearly fifty years working in and later supervising the Reading Room of the British Library—"much of [Palgrave's] ability to deal with art in its economic aspect was derived from his researches into the feudal system, and his acquaintance with the condition of the people in the Middle Ages."[57] His particular interest in medieval and ancient Anglo-Norman and Anglo-Saxon history led him to delve into the records of those periods and became an advantage in many of his peerage cases.

Despite the criticism Palgrave received for his *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy,* his detailed knowledge about art strikes one as the product of a lifetime of study rather than as the secondary passion of a record-keeping lawyer. Palgrave's most notable writing on Italy prior to the handbook was an article in the June 1840 edition of the *Quarterly Review* that surveyed three recently published books about Italian art, including a new edition of Giorgio Vasari's collected works (untranslated from the Italian). Garnett was one of the first writers to recognize how influential Palgrave's views were on Ruskin's aesthetic philosophy and argued that Palgrave's 1840 article in the *Quarterly Review* stood as one of the most significant works of art criticism of its time, in both its originality and its influence, since it was published at a date "sufficiently early to establish the originality of the views propounded."[58] The biographer proposes that Palgrave's contributions to "the study of the fine arts in their industrial and economic aspects" have "not unnaturally been much overlooked," largely due to the fact that most of the antiquarian's' articles on the subject were anonymous (as

[57] Garnett, "Sir Francis Palgrave," 62.

[58] Ibid., 54.

was the custom of periodical publication at this time). The principal points made in Palgrave's piece have "been repeated over and over again by eminent writers since 1840" and have become "accepted doctrine in art, both on its aesthetic and economic sides."[59] Despite Palgrave's profound erudition on the subject of medieval culture and Italian art and his apparent commitment to perpetuating the conventions set forth by the handbook series' editor—"The volume now submitted to the public, though by a different author, is exactly upon the plan of the Hand-books already published, which have been honoured with so large a share of approbation"—no amount of confidence was enough to rectify the damage done to the publisher's reputation after Lockhart's review was published.[60]

Comparing Editions

It appears that the most important strategy deployed by Maule and Murray III to appease criticism of the first edition of the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* was to make dramatic changes to the "Preface" and the "Preliminary Observations"–the sections with most prominence of place. In the opening pages of all of Murray handbooks, authors articulated their methodology, declared loyalty to the standards of the series, and described some of the sources they themselves used to orient their own travel adventures. The "Preliminary Observations" of the Northern Italian handbook includes sections such as "Plan of the Work," "Passports and Doganas" (or Customs),

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[59] Ibid., 55.

[60] [Maule], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 2nd ed., 3.

"Routes," and "Money," "Inns and Accommodations," and so forth.[61] (The 1847 edition adds "Music" and "Fresco-painting" to the list.[62]) The first of these topics ("Plan of the Work") familiarizes the reader to the editor's particular philosophy about touring (which clearly must not diverge far from Murray III's own) and often lists its sources. (This section's title in the 1836 handbook is "Maxims and Hints for Travelling."[63]) It appears that in disavowing the book's explicit affiliation with Sir Francis Palgrave so bluntly in the "Notice to the Second Edition," and with its subtle changes with regard to Italian art and architecture in the "Preface" and the "Preliminary Observations," Maule and Murray III did enough to assuage readers that they had rectified the errors of the 1842 edition. There were no significant reviews or complaints lobbed at the publisher after 1846, and there does not seem to be any evidence that people noticed how little the chapters following the introduction had really changed.

Some of alterations made to the Northern Italian handbook's second edition introduction merely pare down Palgrave's florid language without changing the meaning. For instance, where the 1842 edition says "Our historical and literary notices are exceedingly succinct and perfunctory," the 1846 edition revises the sentence to be (ironically) more succinct: "The historical and literary notices are as short and few as we could make them."[64] The subject of the sentence switches from the first-person plural to

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[61] [Palgrave], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy,* 1st ed., vii.

[62] [Maule], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 2nd ed., vii.

[63] [Murray III], *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent,* 1st ed., vii.

[64] [Palgrave], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 1st ed., x. [Maule], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 2nd ed., xi.

the more detached third person passive voice favored by scientific writing. Minor

changes of this sort abound, but the more substantive revisions made to the Northern

Italian handbook fall into two categories. The first category consists of passages added

to the introduction that overtly attempt to distance the second edition from its first

writer. For instance, the obvious "Notice to the Second Edition" discussed earlier

prepares the reader to expect "materially altered" content in the new edition–these are

alterations, I have argued, that are not quite as significant as the "Notice" would have

one believe. The second sort of change is much subtler, having to do with changing the

aesthetic orientation of the book. The second edition eliminates Palgrave's

championship of early-Christian art and reasserts the greatness of the Renaissance.

Frescoes by Michelangelo (1475-1564) and Raphael (1483-1520) assume a more

prominent position, for instance. The rising public interest in frescoes was no mere

coincidence: Price Albert (1819-1861) had announced an enormous and highly

publicized competition in 1843, soliciting fresco designs from artists to adorn the

enormous walls of the newly constructed Westminster Palace.[65]

Palgrave surely would have approved of the additional section about frescoes that

the editor added in the "Preliminary Observations," but he emphasizes an earlier

generation of fresco artists rather than those of the Renaissance. More surprising to

him, however, would be the criticism that he had apparently veered so far off course

from Murray III's handbook methodology. After all, in the opening lines of his 1842

volume, Palgrave dutifully recites the series' main tenets as those which guided his own

writing process: "The principle of describing not what *may* be seen, but what *ought* to

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[65] [Palgrave], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 1st ed., xxix.

be seen, has been strictly followed by the author of the present work; and its bulk has arisen from the exuberance of objects which Italy affords."[66] Palgrave's sentence echoes the general philosophy of travel-writing outlined in the preface to Murray's original 1836 *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*, which claims to "confine" itself, for the benefit of its readers, "to matter-of-fact descriptions of what ought to be seen at each place…without bewildering his readers with an account of all that may be seen."[67] The second edition of the Northern Italian handbook even goes so far as to delete the sentence professing strict adherence to Murray's method, as if to rebuke the antiquarian's attempt altogether.

Palgrave follows the sentence quoted above (removed in subsequent editions) with another second sentence that echoes Murray III's methodology, soliciting contributions from readers using the book abroad: "Any corrections or additions, the result of personal observations, and with the names of the parties who are so kind as to communicate them to 'the Editor of the Hand-books for Travellers' under cover to the publisher, will be thankfully employed."[68] Again this declaration was not enough. The preface of the 1846 edition, even more explicitly than Palgrave, affirms its affiliation to earlier books in Murray's handbook series by invoking a key term from 1836: the spot. The second edition further clarifies Palgrave's solicitation for assistance and updates, mid-sentence, reminding readers eager to contribute that "personal observations" must

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[66] [Maule], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 2nd ed., v (emphasis in original).

[67] [Murray III], *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*, 2.

[68] [Palgrave], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 1st ed., v.

be "written down, not from memory, but on the spot."[69] Though the second edition

eliminates Palgrave's first invitation to the reader from these opening lines, this

particular emendation reminds the reader of the special importance of precise

observation to the series' methods, and perhaps signals that Palgrave's failure related to

the fact that he was not exactly as "on the spot" as Murray III could have wished.

Ruskin, whose notes the publisher integrated into the third edition of the handbook,

professes his own allegiance to Murray's "spot" in a June 1845 letter when he brags

about his close attention to the frescoes in Pisa: "I was a fortnight on ladders & frames,

at work on their frescos."[70] He speculates that Palgrave, in contrast, "has not had time at

the Campo Santo [in Pisa]," and thus is less qualified to write about it.[71]

The slight alterations made to Palgrave's 1842 "Plan of the Work" realigned the

handbook with a popular taste in the 1840s for Renaissance art and a waning interest in

art of the Middle Ages. After all, as historian John Hale writes of this handbook, "no

work has ever done more to direct public attention to Italian art before Raphael."[72] In

the British public's declining interest in early-Christian art, one can trace the long-term

effects that the Napoleonic and Revolutionary wars had upon Continental tourism and

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[69] [Maule], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy,* 2nd ed., v.

[70] Qtd. in Tucker, "Right Conclusions," 594.

[71] Ibid.

[72] John R. Hale's *England and the Italian Renaissance* 4th ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell

Publishing, 2005), 88.

aesthetic tastes in general.[73] The ready availability of early-Christian art in the period

after the Napoleonic wars was a legacy of the liberal looting of Italian homes and

churches during invasions throughout the decades of wars.[74] Napoleon often paraded

his spoils down the Champs-Élysses in celebration of victory before storing them in the

Louvre, while some of the loot made its way to Great Britain.[75] Because of its

unpopularity relative to the art of the Renaissance, a lot of pre-Reformation artworks

remained in galleries in London, unclaimed or rejected by the prior Italian owners.[76] Of

the early art that did make its way back to Italy, much ended up in galleries–many prior

owners had either died or lost homes during the war. Because of the galleries' ubiquity

and their teeming collections in the decades following the wars on the Continent,

masterworks by the great early painters had lost some of their cachet. Ruskin devoted

his lifetime to producing books, lectures, and essays with the aim of countering this

trend–a subject explored at length in the next chapter. He argued that this shift in

public taste was a consequence of the greed and new wealth of industrialized society.[77]

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[73] Se Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance,* 87-88 for more on declining Victorian interest

in "primitives" or medieval art and on the rising preference for that of the Renaissance.

[74] Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance*, 84.

[75] For more details about the cultural effects of Napoleonic looting upon tourist access to

Continental art, see Jonah Siegel, *Desire and Excess: The Nineteenth-Century Culture of Art*

(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[76] Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance*, 86.

[77] *The Stones of Venice* (1851-1853) is where Ruskin most fully begins to articulate his views on

the aesthetic destructiveness of the Renaissance and its consequences in British society. An early

lamentation from its first volume provides a pithy sampling of his general critique of

The master craftsmen of the Renaissance were so technically skilled that their artwork, in Ruskin's opinion, drew attention to the beauty and perfection of the artists' skills rather than increasing viewers' reverence for the religious subjects depicted therein.[78] The humble virtues of early-Christian artwork that Palgrave and Ruskin both celebrated drew attention to faith—Roman Catholic faith, no less. It is somewhat ironic, given the affinity in the views of Ruskin and Palgrave, that Murray III then took advantage of the former man's growing reputation as an art critic to add credibility to the third edition of the handbook in 1847.[79]

Renaissance aesthetics: "Nor is it merely wasted wealth or distempered conception which we have to regret in this Renaissance architecture: but we shall find in it partly the root, partly the expression, of certain dominant evils of modern times—over-sophistication and ignorant classicalism; the one destroying the healthfulness of general society, the other rendering our schools and universities useless to a large number of the men who pass through them." Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice,* 9:46.

[78] Ruskin lamented that Renaissance artists even went so far as to destroy the humble art that preceded them in their quest for dominance. When describing how Renaissance artists replaced it's a Giotto façade with "a Renaissance front" at a Florentine cathedral, Ruskin rues, "as if it were not nuisance enough in the mere fact of its own existence, appears invariably as a beast of prey, and founds itself on the ruin of all that is best and noblest." *The Stones of Venice*, 9: 236-37.

[79] The main difference between the 1846 and 1847 editions of the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* was the addition of notes sent to the publisher from Ruskin. There are at least eight direct quotations from or references to Ruskin's notes in the 1847 edition, as well as

The removal of one particular passage from the 1842 "Plan of the Work" strikes right at the heart of the philosophical shift one can trace in later editions of the handbook. The revision hinges around the works of Andrea Palladio (1508-1580), whose revival of classical architectural styles, particularly throughout Venice, became a frequent object of some of Ruskin's most vituperative prose. For instance, at the end of *The Stones of Venice,* Ruskin lists sites of the city worth visiting and complains that "it is impossible to conceive a design more gross, more barbarous, more childish in conception, more servile in plagiarism, more insipid in result, more contemptible under every point of rational regard" than Palladio's San Giorgio Maggiore church.[80] Palgrave too laments the fact that "our travelers and guides" pay more attention to "the main attractions" and "forget the remaining treasures which they contain."[81] Moreover, he complains that most writers who went to Italy before him (with the exception of [Henry] Gally Knight [1786-1846][82]) "sought and found nothing excepting classical reminiscences, painting, and Palladian architecture."[83] Palgrave then reminds his reader of the "antiquities of the early Christian period" and praises the artisans who "have

numerous places in the edition that contain information, uncited, that probably came from his letters as well.

[80] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice,* 11:381.

[81] [Palgrave], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy,* 1st ed., x.

[82] Gally Knight (1786-1846), like Palgrave, was an antiquarian and wrote books about Continental architecture before the fifteenth century. See "Knight, Henry Gally," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed February 14, 2016, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15721.

[83] [Palgrave], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy,* 1st ed., x.

employed so much labour, or exercised such exquisite skill" who have been "wholly forgotten, or noticed so cursorily as to excite neither interest nor curiosity."[84]

Palgrave's celebration of early-Christian artwork—perfectly anticipating Ruskin's aesthetic philosophy—led him to decry the prominence of Renaissance art and architecture in most of the popular books that engrossed contemporary travelers. These passages, however, are the very ones that Maule excised in the second and third editions. In the 1846 "Plan of the Work," the new editor flippantly sends the reader to Gally Knight, but only "if he wishes" for more information on the "ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy."[85] Maule replaces the other writers Palgrave named—favored specifically for to their attention to early-Christian art—with an entirely different list of writers known for their celebration of the Renaissance. For instance, Maule writes he has "often inserted" into the handbook passages from "Letters from an Architect" by "Wood" (Joseph Woods [1776-1864], founder of the London Architectural Society)– "particularly those relating to the architecture of Palladio and Scamozzi."[86] Palgrave, in contrast, suggests a "Mr. Faber" to his reader.[87] Frederick William Faber (1814-1864) was an Anglican clergyman who, after multiple voyages to the Continent and a personal meeting with Pope Gregory XVI (1765-1846), became an enthusiastic Roman Catholic

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[84] Ibid.

[85] [Maule], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 2nd ed., x.

[86] Ibid. Ruskin complains of the architectural "mischief" caused by Vicenzo Scamozzi (1548-1616), though he also allows that Scamozzi was a man of "real intellect" despite his Renaissance affiliation. *The Stones of Venice* in *Works*, 9:46.

[87] [Palgrave], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 1st ed., x.

convert (and notoriously began calling the Virgin Mary "Mamma.")[88] Faber's *Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches and Among Foreign Peoples* (1842), dedicated to his famous friend Wordsworth, leads readers through France, Italy, and Greece in the style of an eighteenth-century guidebook–with a particular focus on church ritual (much in the same fashion as Eustace's *Classical Tour*).[89] Maule, in contrast, praises the *Encyclopedia of Architecture* by Joseph Gwilt (1784-1863) because of its "lucid descriptions of celebrated buildings." He also refers to the lavishly bound *Fresco Decorations and Stuccoes of Churches and Palaces in Italy during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (1844) by Lewis Gruner (1801-1882)–a book presented to Queen Victoria herself.[90] In a final nod to fashionable Victorian tastes, or what Maule calls "the importance and interest of the subject at the present moment, in consequence of the endeavor to revive the higher style of art by the introduction of fresco-painting in the new Houses of Parliament,"[91] Maule concludes the "Plan of the Work" by replacing Palgrave's brief yet affectionate reference to Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) with a long

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[88] Sheridan Gilley, "Faber, Frederick William (1814-1863)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed April 5, 2016, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9050.

[89] Frederick William Faber, *Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches and Among Foreign Peoples*, (London: J. G. F. & J. Rivington, 1842).

[90] "Ludwig Grüner (1801-1882)," *Royal Collection Trust,* accessed April 18, 2016, https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/1194136/descriptions-of-the-plates-of-fresco-decorations-and-stuccoes-of-churches-and.

[91] [Maule], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy,* 2nd ed., xi.

quotation from the ever-popular Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) on the subject of frescoes.

Of greatest importance in this massive reframing of the handbook's approach to early art and architecture is that Maule's interest in the "celebrated buildings" of Northern Italy replaces Palgrave's concern that the tourist might "forget the remaining treasures" that are less popular. Some of the most pointed blows against Palgrave in the second edition revolve around whether or not a guidebook should show originality and lead the tourist off the so-called beaten track, or if it should be, in the words of Maule, "simply a guide to the most remarkable places."[92] It appears that Palgrave and Maule were in disagreement over this principle, and Maule's revisions to the "Plan of the Work" do not merely re-orient the text in his preferred direction, they evince pure contempt for Palgrave's guidebook philosophy altogether. For instance, Palgrave's first paragraph assures the reader: "We have, therefore, laboured to call the attention of the traveller to all which are worthy of notice. . . we believe that our account may be said to be the first, approaching to completeness, given in the English language."[93] It appears that "completeness," however, was not a metric that necessarily mattered to the publisher. In an October 31, 1842 letter sent to Murray III from Philip Henry Stanhope, Fourth Earl Stanhope (1781-1855), the friend complained that Palgrave's book "is too long & diffuse. A Handbook comprising only one half of Italy—and the least interesting half—should not have swelled into a bulk so disproportionate to the former volumes.

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[92] Ibid. See introduction for more information about the trope of the "beaten track" in travel literature and tourism.

[93] Ibid., ix.

Throughout the volume there is a fondness for trifling details."[94] Subsequently, in the second edition of the Northern Italian handbook, on nearly the same place on the same page where Palgrave had bragged about completeness, the editor retorts:

> It would too be a great misfortune, if the editor of a Hand-book of Italy were
> ambitious of composing an original work. Italy has been so long studied, that all
> its most interesting places and works have been repeatedly and carefully noted
> down; and so much has been written, and by persons of such ability and
> acquirements, that the most difficult task is the selection of materials.[95]

Where Palgrave boasted about the new comprehensiveness of his handbook, Maule (and Murray III) told the reader that it has all been done before and by someone better (than Palgrave).

In Maule's dismissal, we see emerging a philosophy of guidebook writing that clashes with Palgrave's. Maule writes: "The compiler of a Hand-book is happily relieved, by the necessity of being useful, from the pursuit of that originality of a tourist, which consists in omitting to notice great works because they have been noticed by others, and in crying up some object which has hitherto been deservedly passed over."[96] Maule's patent dismissal of objects that have been "deservedly" ignored strikes against Palgrave's belief in the value of visiting neglected sites:

> The very reputation of the principal cities, renders travelers comparatively
> unmindful of places possessing less celebrity; and, in rushing to the great popular

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[94] Tucker, "Right Conclusions," 584.

[95] [Maule], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy,* 2nd ed., ix.

[96] Ibid.

objects of admiration, they utterly neglect the intervening localities, depriving

themselves of a great portion of the pleasure and profit of the journey.[97]

Here, in Palgrave's view, "pleasure" and "profit" (presumably not financial) are the goals

of a journey, and visiting places of "less celebrity" contributes to those ends. In contrast,

Maule sets the "necessity of being useful" as the true role of the guidebook.

The most sarcastic blow to Palgrave's handbook comes when Maule directly

describes his revision process:

The present edition of this Handbook has been revised with a view of making it

simply a guide to the most remarkable places of Northern Italy, and drawing the

attention of the traveller to the nature and quality of the objects mentioned.

Reflections not seeming to contribute to this end have been excluded: those who

desire remarks or reflections upon Italy, can find books containing them in

plenty, from Forsyth down to the latest lady-tourist.[98]

The new editor mentions Forsyth's renowned *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and*

Letters During an Excursion in Italy (1813), a book that was written while its author

was held captive in Napoleonic France in the hopes that its subject matter—a favorite of

Napoleon's—would appeal to the emperor who had imprisoned him.[99] Forsyth's

Remarks (also published by Murray) represents travel writing of the eighteenth-century

variety: composed to be more of a narrative than a useful, step-by-step guidebook for a

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[97] [Palgrave], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy,* 1st ed., ix.

[98] [Maule], *Handbook for Tourists in Northern Italy,* 2nd ed., ix.

[99] Joseph Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters, During an Excursion in Italy in*
the Years 1802 and 1803 (London: J. Murray, 1813).

traveler. In Maule's contempt for "reflections," a word evocative of Forsyth's title, he associates Palgrave with an old-fashioned style. Perhaps worse, however, is that the criticism likens Palgrave's first edition to the writings of the "latest lady-tourist"— perhaps Starke, Catharine Maria Sedgwick (1789-1867), or Frances Trollope (1779-1863)—as if to suggest that his work is at best fashionable and at worst, irrelevant and superficial.[100]

Palgrave himself, on the opening pages of the 1842 edition, took pains to articulate the ways in which he was not, in fact, a travel writer of the old-fashioned variety by explicitly dismissing the authority of travel writers who preceded him— Eustace first among them. Eustace's ostensible focus on "classical" Italy—his profound knowledge of which had been his ticket into the upper echelons of English society—was no longer a priority. I argue in my first chapter that Eustace's *Classical Tour* used the then-fashionable topic of classical tourism as a sort of Trojan Horse for his true interest in advocating for tolerance and understanding of Roman Catholicism in Great Britain. Despite its title, Eustace's popular book was more interested in religious art and architecture than in classical monuments—its only illustrations are pull-out floorplans of churches—and I argue that this focus ultimately signaled and supported a dramatic change in the gaze for tourists in the nineteenth century. In dismissing Eustace and Sedgwick—an American novelist whose 1841 *Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home* made her "easily the most famous" American woman writer to publish a book about

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[100] Frances Trollope (1779-1863), mother of the famous novelist, made her living writing novels and popular books that recounted her many travel adventures.

travel abroad[101]—Palgrave is is apparently trying to inure himself from the accusations of old-fashionedness and feminine triviality (respectively) that Maule and others would accuse him of anyway:

> Often as Italy has been described, and repeatedly as it is visited by foreigners, there is, perhaps, no country in Europe which, *in proportion* to the diligence of investigation thus bestowed, is so little known. The very reputation of the principal cities, renders travellers comparatively unmindful of places possessing less celebrity; and, in rushing to the great popular objects of admiration, they utterly neglect the intervening localities, depriving themselves of a great portion of the pleasure and profit of the journey. Eustace, for example, says that the Roman name of Novara is "its only title to attention"; and dismisses Vercelli with the remark, that "the portico of the cathedral is to be admired." Miss Sedgwick, following the same road, and hastening from Turin to Milan, finds nothing at Vercelli except bad peaches. . .[102]

In citing both Eustace's and Sedgwick's glib dismissals of Novara and Vercelli (cities known for their hidden, valuable frescoes) in their respective works, Palgrave leads us to expect a marked contrast in his own work. He acknowledges here—in this very first paragraph—that the frescoes of these cities and their "specimens of

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[101] Lucinda L. Damon-Bach, "Catharine Maria Sedgwick Tours England: Private Letters, Public Account," in *Transatlantic Women: Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers and Great Britain,* ed. Beth Lynne Lueck, Brigitte Bailey, and Lucinda L. Damon-Bach (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2012), 21.

[102] [Palgrave], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 1st ed., ix (emphasis in original).

architecture" are "either of great beauty and singularity," such that "any one of which would, if taken singly, be sufficient, using the common phrase, to make the fortune of any place in France or England." Palgrave, through praising his own process of parsing out that which "should be looked at," promises that his Murray handbook will be the first to pay sufficient homage to the great works of art and architecture of Northern Italy. In a shift from the tradition that Eustace and his cohort established, in which the Grand Tour of Italy was a mark of educational accomplishment, he insists still that "so little is known" about the country. In investigating its "places possessing less celebrity" and the neglected "intervening localities," in defiance of Eustace and Sedgwick, the tourist will derive more "pleasure and profit." From Palgrave's perspective, a Classical education is no longer the prerequisite to a proper experience of Italy. To the contrary, what matters to him is that the reader selects the best guidebook.

One final example of a difference between the first and second editions of the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* sheds some light on the differing expectations that their respective editors had of their readers' attitudes toward Catholicism. On the subject of touring churches, both editions warn:

> The clergy do not like to have the churches considered as shows, nor are the congregations at all indifferent, as has been asserted, to the conduct of strangers, in walking about and talking during Divine service.[103]

The first edition had noted that it can be difficult to find a guide to a church interior because sometimes the sacristan takes an inconveniently timed "dinner and his nap." At

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[103] Ibid., xv.

other times, the church will be in service and thus not want tourists gadding about the sanctuary.

Both editions are the same until this point, but the 1846 edition adds the following admonition: "It might perhaps too be suggested to zealous individuals, that they are not protesting against Roman Catholic errors, by behaving indecorously in Roman Catholic churches."[104] One can only speculate what prompted Maule to add such a warning, but it is easy to assume that some sort of "protest"-like behavior was routine enough that it merited a mention. This seems to be a far cry from the text of the Irish priest Eustace, who apparently held his Protestant readers in higher esteem than Maule, believing them capable of tolerance and empathy. Even Palgrave, throughout his volume, evinces more confidence in his tourists than this later admonition suggests.

Reaction to Palgrave

Ruskin, Palgrave, and even Eustace shared an affinity for Roman Catholic art and architecture of Italy of the sort that many commentators, including the later editors of the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, did not see fit to promote. These three men, unconventional in their interest in the magnificence of pre-Renaissance artworks, were dedicated to reaching beyond the prejudice that they believed many fellow Britons would bring with them to the Continent because such prejudice would prohibit tourists from properly appreciating what they considered to be important sites. Despite sharing an aesthetic sensibility with Palgrave, however, Ruskin also found much to argue with in the old antiquarian's handbook, and he made use of his own expertise on the subject of

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[104] [Maule], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 2nd ed., xvi.

Italian art to ingratiate himself to the famous publisher who had rejected his *Modern Painters I* manuscript only two years earlier.[105] Ruskin wrote numerous letters to Murray III about errors in the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* while making use of it onsite during his tour in 1845. These letters, which Ruskin continued to send to Murray III long after he returned to England from the Continent, included the sort of useful updates that the publisher had solicited in his 1836 *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* when he "*most particularly"* requested "*all who make use* of it to favour him, by transmitting, through his publisher, *a notice of any mistakes* or *omissions which they may discover.*"[106] Ruskin, probably receiving hints from Murray of some sort of mutual dislike of the handbook, took every opportunity to deride the old antiquarian and his methodology as thoroughly as possible, and in a style typical of the young and ambitious author, he seemed to take pleasure in being as vituperative and dismissive of Palgrave as possible.

Ruskin's critiques of Palgrave took numerous forms. In some of the letters, Ruskin complains about the poor organization of the book. One such criticism loosely impugns Murray III himself for producing a book that was such a waste of the young

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[105] Ruskin's father John James (1785-1864) had asked Murray III to publish his son's manuscript of *Modern Painters I* sight-unseen in 1843. (He did not want to offer any subsequent publishers a book that had been rejected by Murray.) The publisher refused because he did not think that a book about the greatness of painter J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851) was likely to sell many copies. See Tim Hilton, *John Ruskin* Tim Hilton, *John Ruskin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 72.

[106] [Murray III], *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent,* iv (emphasis in original).

writer's time and money: "I took your book in my hand the first day — but to save time I had to give it up and buy the one [sold at] the place—which takes the order of succession — not of time."[107] Some of Ruskin's critiques pertain to errors of omission: "Among the important errors of the descriptions are—first—its omission to note the remains of one of Giotto's most beautiful subjects."[108] Other notes suggest that Palgrave had not actually visited the spot that he described: "I was not pleased with its account of the Campo Santo which seems to me to have been rather written from Lasinios plates which are vile."[109] In another instance, an exasperated Ruskin wonders: "How Sir Francis came to attribute the incoronazione here to Angelico I cannot conceive, it is a bad Cosimo Rosselli. . . . Sir F. seems not to have seen the fresco of Pemgino, by far the finest work of the kind in Florence."[110] Finally, some of Ruskin's letters seek to remind the publisher how hard he is laboring on the firm's behalf by taking such voluminous notes: "I shall send you from time to time — as I have opportunity — such notes of deficiencies in the handbook as I have made in my own pocketbook — I am very sorry I cannot send you them all at once — but it requires time to disentangle them from other matter with which they are mixed."[111] And a month later:

> The book has made as nice a mess as could be wished of the geography of it — & it
> is a plaguy church to fish for what you want in, — if you will let me know whether

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[107] Tucker, "Right Conclusions," 591.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid., 595.

your editor has a good account of it — it may save me the trouble of copying my

notes — but if ~~you~~ he has not — I will send you a rough plan, with the places of

the things, which would have been very useful to me — if there had been one

ready for me.[112]

Ruskin's bullying and querulous tone notwithstanding, he seems to have been

motivated by a desire to boost his own reputation and credibility with the famous

publisher by furnishing him with some of his most expert corrections to the handbook.

Despite all of the complaints, however, Ruskin's main dispute with Palgrave's handbook

appears to have been related to facts, omissions, and errors in sequence rather than

Palgrave's aesthetic principles. In one of his first letters to Murray III, Ruskin admits:

"Your writer however is a man of good taste and judgment — or at least of fair average

taste."[113] This was relatively high praise from the young critic. It appears that Murray III

rewarded Ruskin's extensive efforts by offering some degree of access to the inner-

workings of the business, and by the time Ruskin wrote his December 24, 1845 letter to

Murray III, he was already privy to the fact that Palgrave would no longer be editing the

next edition of the handbook. Ruskin wrote: "If your new editor be a tolerable architect

he will I doubt not have examined the inlaid work of S. Michele and the duomo."[114]

Palgrave himself only learned of Murray III's decision in a letter postmarked nine days

earlier.[115]

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[112] Ibid., 608.

[113] Ibid., 594.

[114] Ibid., 596.

[115] Ibid., 585. Murray paid £210 to Palgrave in exchange for the copyright to the handbook.

Murray III's December 1845 letter to Palgrave assured him that his replacement, Maule, was "a safe & experienced hand for the task."[116] Given the late date of this turnover—it had been three years since publication—it seems likely that the final, very public blow to Palgrave's credibility was Lockhart's article in the June 1845 edition of the *Quarterly Review*. Lockhart, editor of the journal from 1825 to 1854, begins his fifteen-page review of Richard Ford's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*—the ninth in the handbook series and the first one published by the firm since 1843—with two pages theorizing about the overall role of guidebook writers and their duties to the tourist. Lockhart uses Palgrave and his *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* as a foil for Ford and his *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*. Ironically, Lockhart concludes that both writers fail to live up to their duties as Murray handbook writers; however, Lockhart concludes, Ford's volume is so entertaining and original that one should read it anyway. I contend that Ford's Orientalizing view of Spain—he calls it the "Asiatic fixture of the West"[117]—and his depiction of its religious traditions ("The very existence of the Bible is unknown to the vast majority, who, when convinced of the cheats put forth as religion, have nothing better to fall back on but infidelity"[118]) matched readers' tastes and prejudices far better than Palgrave's historicizing and reverential treatment of Northern Italian religious art and culture.

Even if Lockhart's review catalyzed the editorial succession of the Northern Italian handbooks, his criticism of Palgrave does not seem consistent with the changes

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[116] Ibid.

[117] [Lockhart], "Article VI," 86.

[118] Ibid., 78.

that Maule and Murray III made to the second edition to the handbook. For instance,

Lockhart argues that "the author of a *hand-book* should be as full as he can on the

wayside and the minor halts, and as short as he can on the great cities."[119] This standard

seems to be in accord with Palgrave's own lamentation that "our travelers and guides"

pay more attention to "the main attractions" and "forget the remaining treasures which

they contain."[120] Both reviewer and reviewed here prize guidance that features novelty.

Maule contested Palgrave's interest in going off the beaten track when he snidely noted

that a handbook writer "is happily relieved, by the necessity of being useful, from the

pursuit of that originality of a tourist, which consists in omitting to notice great works

because they have been noticed by others, and in crying up some object which has

hitherto been deservedly passed over."[121] In his review, Lockhart celebrates the "pursuit

of . . . originality," however, and quotes liberally from Ford's handbook in order to

provide an example of the "singular felicity with which he brings his very uncommon

stores of knowledge and reflection and illustration–his queer as well as elegant learning.

. . to bear on some definite locality."[122] Ford's handbook, in Lockhart's view, is valuable

because it describes that "which few Englishmen have ever visited, and, as we believe,

no Englishman ever before described."[123] Lockhart praises Ford specifically because "he

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[119] Ibid., 74 (emphasis in original).

[120] [Palgrave], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy,* 1st ed., x.

[121] [Maule], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy,* 2nd ed., ix.

[122] [Lockhart], "Article VI," 85.

[123] Ibid.

has revealed more entirely new and untrodden paths."[124] Given the fact that both

Lockhart and Palgrave prized originality as a virtue in a handbook, and given that Murry

III likely made his decision to change the editor of the Northern Italian handbook on the

basis of Lockhart's influence, it stands to reason that this particular disagreement did

not have a determining influence on the publisher's decision.

Lockhart's critique does not confine itself to textual analysis. He assesses the

personal fitness of the authors as an important way of measuring the quality of their

handbooks. Palgrave, he notes, is "a man of most lively abilities and very great

mediaeval learning."[125] Lockhart uses similar language—if more magniloquent—to

describe Ford, who is also "a scholar who has cultivated through life the tastes of

Winchester and Oxford—a thorough Latinist and Grecian—a fair Orientalist." According

to Lockhart's assessment, moreover, Ford appears to be nothing less than the most

accomplished man ever to have lived: "[Ford is] well acquainted with every part of

civilized Europe, and its history and modern literature—an amateur artist, second to no

one now living of that class —a man of strong general ability, keen sagacity, genuine

playful wit, and master of a highly picturesque, animated, original, and attractive

style."[126] Lockhart is also generous with Palgrave, if not to the same degree, when he

acknowledges the "many thanks" readers "owe" Palgrave for the obvious pains he took

in securing the details presented in the handbook. Palgrave's "many laborious summers

and autumns," however, and the "many a monotonous plain—many a wet day—many a

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[124] Ibid., 81.

[125] Ibid., 74.

[126] Ibid., 76.

long evening in many a bad inn," can only seem dreary in comparison to Ford's brilliant adventures.[127] Lockhart's flaccid praise for Palgrave ultimately makes the author's failures seem worse. Using Palgrave's first name in a mark of condescending familiarity, Lockhart writes: "Sir Francis could and should have given us a book of a very high order. . . . We should then have had his views fairly opened—his erudition and criticism fully displayed: as it is, every patch on his canvass bag makes us sigh that a silken robe has been cut up."[128] In contrast, Ford's handbook is a brilliant success despite the fact that his handbook's flaws resemble those of Palgrave's: "It is clear at a glance that Mr. Ford's Hand-book for Spain sins against the rule we have ventured to lay down. It sins even more largely than the volume for Northern Italy."[129] Despite Ford's "sins," however, his handbook receives Lockhart's highest praise for being nothing less than "the best English book, beyond all comparison, that ever has appeared for the illustration . . . of the national character and manners of Spain."[130]

Palgrave and Ford—according to Lockhart's descriptions—possessed equivalent levels of preparation to qualify them as guides to their respective routes, and both favored the practice of going beyond the beaten track preferred by the reviewer. It therefore makes sense that the distinction between Italy and Spain, and the reviewers' respective treatment of the two countries, constitutes the main reason for which Lockhart denounces Palgrave's book and celebrates Ford's. After all, Italy was the main

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[127] Ibid., 74.

[128] Ibid., 75.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Ibid., 76.

destination of the storied Grand Tour and thus familiar terrain; Spain was relatively

exotic to the British reader. Lockhart appears to luxuriate in Ford's Orientalizing gaze,

and even begins to mimic it when describing Ford's book: "Consider the lazy, loitering,

do-nothing character of the lounging nation—abstemious in everything but cigars and

love."[131]

When Ford explains the importance of hydration to the English traveler unused

to the Spanish heat, every metaphor recalls either East Asia, Middle East, and the

contrast between lightness and darkness:

> Then, when the heavens and earth are on fire, and the sun drinks up rivers at one
>
> draught, when one burnt sienna tone pervades the tawny ground, and the green
>
> herb is shrivelled up into black gunpowder tea or souchong, and the rare pale
>
> ashy olive-trees are blanched into the livery of the desert—then, when the heat
>
> and harshness make even the salamander muleteers swear doubly as they toil
>
> along like demons in an ignited salitrose dust—then, indeed, will an Englishman
>
> discover that he is made of the same material, only drier, and learn to estimate
>
> water.[132]

In contrast, we can notice the sober and well-portioned pleasures Lockhart found in

earlier editions of Murray III's handbooks:

> For direct usefulness on the road we think those for France, Switzerland,
>
> Germany, and the Netherlands, are best; and we believe these have all been done
>
> mainly and substantially by the same person—the Editor himself—in this case

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[131] Ibid., 86.

[132] Ibid.

Editor in the French as well as in the English sense of that respected vocable. In some of the [other more recent Murray Handbooks] we miss the quiet steady good sense that characterizes his earlier volumes—the patient adherence to a simple purpose—the resistance of every temptation that must needs beset a well-informed man when he undertakes a task of this description.[133]

Lockhart praises Murray III (the author of these early works) for his "direct usefulness," "steady good sense," "patient adherence," his "simple purpose" and "resistance of every temptation." Well-trod, familiar ground like France, Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands (three of the four of these countries, it should be noted, were predominantly Protestant) apparently benefits from this dry, even puritanical treatment. In contrast, Lockhart appreciates the excitement of Ford's handbook "how admirably the pathos is relieved by its setting: you open and close among the gay dancing village girls."[134] Lockhart praises Ford's "artistic eye,"[135] and how in the midst of "far-separated, withered, idle, tradeless towns" the author embodies all of the accomplishments of an archetypal Western observer fit to write for his compatriots: "he is a guide, friend and philosopher." His gaze is "chivalrous and chastened," despite the fact that the objects upon which he gazes with duly tempered "admiration" are "semi-Moorish."[136]

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[133] Ibid., 74.

[134] Ibid., 86.

[135] Ibid., 83.

[136] Ibid., 82.

Even though Lockhart appears more interested in Ford's subject matter than Palgrave's, he concludes that both handbooks ultimately suffered from the same problem: the authors' traveling and writing styles did not conform to the genre set forth by Murray III in the first handbooks. At the beginning of the review, Lockhart longingly reminisces about the old handbooks that were written by "our friend Mr. Murray," volumes that Lockhart affectionately personifies as "our companions through many a pleasant holiday excursion."[137] But he is also quick to excuse the fact that Ford's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* "appears in the modest guise of a 'red Murray,' in two pocket volumes," even though its contents were so ill suited for that format. The reviewer explains that the real problem is that the literary market can no longer accommodate someone of Ford's greatness and aptitude:

> Twenty years ago such a man, so laden with knowledge and thought, would, on returning from a seven or eight years' residence in Spain, have furnished the Albemarle Street press with a couple of splendid quartos, whether in the shape of Letters from Spain, or Travels in Spain. . . . At half the distance of time we should have our four comely octavos. Now all is changed.[138]

Lockhart's account of Palgrave's failure allows that perhaps it was also because the genre did not suit the author, but his treatment of Palgrave is far less obsequious: "He should never have done a Hand-book. It is evident that he has pillaged for its purposes a private journal which ought to have been made public—not in fragments

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[137] Ibid., 74.

[138] Ibid., 75-76.

after this fashion—but entire."[139] Even if Palgrave's book is "pillaged" and Ford's

belongs in "splendid quartos," Lockhart's point is that the handbook format has

replaced an earlier style of travel writing that would have showcased both Palgrave's and

Ford's respective works to better effect.

In Lockhart's view, Murray III stands apart as the sole author in the handbook

series thus far who has proven to be capable of writing a good handbook. Apparently

this praise sweetened the bitter pill of critique, for the publisher quickly chose a new

editor after the review's publication. In comparing Lockhart's review with the changes

made to the second edition of the Northern Italian handbook, however, there seems to

be no obvious agreement between Lockhart and Murray III on whether or not a

handbook should describe what lies off the beaten track, and this remains a tension to

this day in our own guidebooks (with the *Not for Tourists* guidebooks and the *Rough*

Guides on one end and the *Fodor's* and *Michelins* on the other serving both sorts of

tourist philosophies). According to Lockhart, Palgrave and Ford were equally prepared

to write their respective handbooks, and both suffered from the fact that their writing

styles were ill-suited for the handbook series and the time in which they wrote. One

author's handbook was publicly disowned by the publisher, however, and the other

hyperbolically celebrated by Lockhart and his contemporaries as "among the best books

of travel, humour and history, social, literary, political and artistic, in the English

language."[140] The fame of Ford's handbook has even endured, and as recently as

September 1945, an issue of the *Geographical Journal* celebrated its centenary. As of

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[139] Ibid., 74-75.

[140] W. Stirling-Maxwell, "Richard Ford," *The Times* (September 4, 1858).

2006, Ford's handbook has even had its own Wikipedia page, which boasts that the *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* "marked a defining moment in English travel literature."[141] Meanwhile, Palgrave's profound influence on both Victorian aesthetics and Ruskin's philosophy has hardly been acknowledged since Garnett's article in the 1901 *Hampstead Annual.*

Palgrave had plenty of detractors by the time he set off on his own journey to Italy to make notes ("on the spot") for his handbook, and his tastes always ran counter to what was popular at the time–much in anticipation of Ruskin's own. It is possible that extant prejudice against Palgrave turned critical opinion unfairly against him. In spite of everything, by 1842 he already had many enemies due to his great success in a sphere of public service characterized by bitter rivalries, and his enemies regularly ridiculed both his conversion from Judaism and what they considered to be his unwarranted affectation of stateliness. It is also likely that the public preferred Ford's titillating descriptions of Spanish Catholic mores to Palgrave's staid attempt to encourage an appreciation of ecclesiastical art. Palgrave had incorrectly assumed, perhaps, that his readers would want to learn more about pre-Palladian architecture and the artistic achievements of the medieval Roman Catholics who ornamented Northern Italy long before Raphael and Michelangelo. His imagined readers were certainly different than those imagined by his editorial successor Maule, who felt the need to add

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[141] "A Handbook for Travellers in Spain," *Wikipedia*, last modified March 3, 2016, accessed April 18, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_Handbook_for_Travellers_in_Spain.

a behavioral warning to the handbook to remind readers not to protest "against Roman Catholic errors, by behaving indecorously in Roman Catholic churches."[142]

Based on public rejection of Palgrave and history's celebration of Ford, it appears that the traveling British public of the 1840s was not yet prepared to widen its scope of tolerance enough to appreciate old Roman Catholic culture and artistry. After all, Ruskin would go on to spend his entire eminent career scolding his readers about the superiority of early-Christian art and architecture, claiming that the British preference for Renaissance art represented a failure of taste and a want of appreciation for genuine devotion. Even in *The Stones of Venice* (1851), one of his earliest books, Ruskin complained that "Protestantism, having foolishly sought for the little help it requires at the hand of painting from the men who embodied no Catholic doctrine, has been reduced to receive it from those who believed neither Catholicism nor Protestantism, but who read the Bible in search of the picturesque."[143] Despite Ruskin's abusive remarks about Palgrave in his letters to Murray III—which were obviously motivated by the young critic's desire to ingratiate himself with the famous publisher—the affinity between the old knight's and Ruskin's views certainly bears acknowledgement. In contrast, Lockhart encouraged British travelers to hurry to Spain because he did not want them to miss out on the "downfall of the Church's ancient glories," as if such a sad spectacle promised to be highly entertaining–and endangered.[144] Lockhart quotes from Ford's warning about Spanish faith: "It therefore rests with the traveller to preserve his

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[142] [Maule], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy,* 2nd ed, xvi.

[143] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice,* 10:126

[144] [Lockhart], "Article VI," 80

religious incognito; and, unless he wishes to enjoy the sufferings of a martyr, he will not volunteer his notions on theology."[145] Spanish religiosity, in other words, is a threat to the British traveler, but it also enlivens the adventure.

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[145] Ibid., 78.

CHAPTER THREE

John Ruskin and Early-Christian Venice:

Architectural Preservation, Aesthetic Pedagogy, and Social Reform

> We can build models of St. Mark's for ourselves, in
> England, or in America. We came to Venice to see *that*
> St. Mark's whose pillars had trembled with Crusaders'
> shouts, seven hundred years ago. . . . We came to
> kneel on the pavement where the Doge Selvo walked
> barefoot to receive his crown: and we find it torn up to
> be replaced by the vile advertisement of a mosaic
> manufactory![1]
>
> –John Ruskin, in "A Letter to Count Zorzi"
> (1877)

Across the span of his long career, John Ruskin—who arguably influenced the

Victorian public's understanding of art and architecture more than any of his

contemporaries—traveled to Venice no fewer than twelve times. The author begins what

would be the last of his many writings on that famous city by berating the way in which a

tourist's popular guidebook describes the two pillars that loom over its famous

piazzetta:

Go first into the Piazzetta, and stand anywhere in the shade, where

you can see its two granite pillars.

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[1] Ruskin, "A Letter to Count Zorzi," *St. Mark's Rest*, in *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. Edward

Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols., (London: George Allen, 1903-12), 24:410.

Your Murray tells you that they are "famous," and that the one is "surmounted by the bronze lion of St. Mark, the other by the statue of St. Theodore, the Protector of the Republic."

It does not, however, tell you why, or for what the pillars are "famous." Nor, in reply to a question which might conceivably occur to the curious, why St. Theodore [of Amasea, third century] should protect the Republic by standing on a crocodile; nor whether the "bronze lion of St. Mark" was cast by Sir Edwin Landseer [(1802-1873), English painter and sculptor of lions in Trafalgar Square],—or some more ancient and ignorant person. . . . Have you any idea why, for the sake of any such things, these pillars were once, or should yet be, more renowned than the Monument, or the column of the Place Vendôme, both of which are much bigger?[2]

The imperious second-person voice of this introduction to *St. Mark's Rest* (published between 1877 and 1884) dictates where the travelers should stand and what they should look at upon entering the square. Ruskin's style enacts a brusque and officious mockery of a standard guidebook's mode of instruction. The third paragraph reduces the storied publisher of the most illustrious guidebook series, John Murray, to a patronizing epithet—"Your Murray."

Given the years in which Ruskin published *St. Mark's Rest,* it is safe to speculate that the traveler imagined by this passage carries the fourteenth edition of Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1877), one that had been published in

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[2] Ruskin, *St. Mark's Rest*, 24:207.

1877.[3] Despite his obvious contempt for the Murray handbook series, it is worth bearing

in mind that Ruskin contributed enthusiastically to the third edition of the Northern

Italian handbook in the late 1840s, and every editor of the book thereafter reprinted

Ruskin's contributions (its last edition, the sixteenth, came out in 1891). The fourteenth

edition, carried by the hypothetical tourist in the passage above, still cited Ruskin five

times (though on one of those occasions, it is to warn the reader of Ruskin's dogmatic

opinions). Ruskin also had made extensive use of the series' first edition himself while

traveling as a young man.[4] Despite his ongoing presence in the book, however, Ruskin

saw fit to subject its fourteenth edition through a gauntlet of criticism by pointing out all

of the important details about the piazzetta it had omitted.

Ruskin's sarcasm in the passage quoted above suggests that the handbook's

description of the piazzetta is inadequate, as is any reader who fails to note the

inadequacy. In his hostile treatment of the Murray publishing company, Ruskin

achieves a complicated effect, one that he deploys regularly in his writing about travel to

the Continent. In the process of denigrating the Murray book and the Victorian tourists

who would rely upon it to explicate their experiences of art and architecture abroad, it

turns out that he is simultaneously writing a guidebook of his own. By beginning his

volume with this criticism of Murray, Ruskin signals his intention to provide an antidote

to the problems he perceives with the guidebook genre. In beginning this chapter with a

sample of some of Ruskin's most acrid prose, we set out to explain the critic's deep and

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[3] *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 14th ed. (London: John Murray and Son, 1877).

[4] See J. G. Links, *Ruskins in Normandy: Tour in 1848 with Murray's Handbook* (London:

Murray, 1968).

longtime engagement with the genre, his role in shaping nineteenth-century tourism, and how he tried to steer British Continental travel into the service of architectural preservation—a cause he also viewed as central to broad social reform.

In *St. Mark's Rest*, Ruskin not only articulated a conventional aversion to tourists—an aversion shared by nearly every generation of British tourists—he also benefitted alongside publishers of guidebooks from the ways in which mass travel increased his relevance to readers. Elsa Damien has addressed the relationship of Ruskin's writings to Murray's guidebooks, establishing that Murray's and Ruskin's respective works responded to one another and also addressed the same issues surrounding mass tourism in their period. Moreover, as she explains, the works of both men advanced what she calls the "construction of a common system of guidance for nineteenth century travellers" in Victorian Britain, establishing a genre as they simultaneously criticized it.[5] Keith Hanley and John K. Walton, in a study that aims to establish Ruskin's prominence as a figure in the development of modern tourism, present a false dichotomy, however, between the goals of Ruskin and those of Murray's guides. They argue that Ruskin's mode of touring and writing about travel was "characterized by activism in perception, entering into different or alternative cultural formation, and with sufficient complexity and depth to lead an enriching educational or learning outcome," while publishers such as John Murray III in London, Karl Baedeker

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[5] Elsa Damien, "Ruskin vs. Murray: Battles for Tourist Guidance in Italy," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 32.1 (March 2010): 19.

(1801-1859) in Germany, and later, Thomas Cook of Derbyshire, were merely concerned with commodifying the "European experience" for British consumers.[6]

The present chapter postulates that the aims of the companies facilitating mass tourism cannot be so simply stated with any accuracy, and that tourists—even those who were shepherded abroad by the likes of Cook—were eager to benefit from the expertise of both Ruskin and Murray, even if their cheap tickets and lowly educations led them to be held in contempt by those very same authors. What my discussion will add to this body of scholarship on the relationship between Ruskin and nineteenth-century commercial travel is an exploration of how he took advantage of the growing market for books about touring the Continent to make a case for the value of architectural preservation and the superior virtues of early-Christian, pre-Renaissance artwork. I contend that he made this move in order to draw attention to a higher calling that gathered pace for him during the course of his long career: to reverse what he perceived were the dehumanizing and ugly aesthetic consequences of industrialization upon nineteenth-century society. Ruskin was dismissive of guidebooks, but he was also certain that in their popularity was an opportunity to train readers—whom he characterized as people who "cannot be expected to know much"—to value craftsmanship and develop an appreciation for the labor conditions necessary to support high quality work.[7]

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[6] Keith Hanley and John K. Walton, *Constructing Cultural Tourism: John Ruskin and the Tourist Gaze* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 3-5.

[7] Ruskin, *Praeterita,* in *The Works of John Ruskin,* ed. Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. (London: George Allen, 1903-12), 35:364.

Ruskin did not promote his vision for reform solely by literary means; by the end of his career, he dedicated himself in all of his professional pursuits to its realization. He articulates his sense of duty in the opening letter of *Fors Clavigera: Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain* (1871-84), a collection of missives addressed to working men about the "material distress" and growing class inequality in England: "we cannot be called, as a nation, well off, while so many of us are either living in honest, or in villainous beggary. For my own part, I will not put up with this state of things, passively, not an hour longer."[8] To that end, in that same year (1871) he founded an organization called the Guild of St. George, still active today. Its Facebook page describes its mission to serve as a "charity for the arts, crafts, and rural economy."[9] In addition to these literary and institutional efforts, and despite his contempt for guidebooks and those who read them, Ruskin hitched his political and aesthetic vision to the growing phenomenon of mass travel, taking advantage of his credibility as an art critic as a means for effecting political and social change.

In the broad scope of the present chapter, *St. Mark's Rest* is a good place to start because, even though its tone is hostile toward the tourists that it addresses, it also reveals the author's devotion to Venice and his profound imaginative relationship to its ancient inhabitants and artisans. In what follows, I begin by analyzing Ruskin's deep-seated commitment to preserving Venice, how that relationship structured his aesthetic

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[8] Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera: Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain*, in *The Works of John Ruskin,* 27:13.

[9] "Guild of St. George," Facebook, accessed December 2, 2015, https://www.facebook.com/guildofstgeorge/info/?tab=page_info.

philosophy, and how that philosophy ultimately became inseparable from his later views on political economy. I contend that Ruskin's writings about foreign art and architecture were meant for a tourist audience, and that by educating tourists in his aesthetic vision, he sincerely believed he could reform the economy and reverse the ill effects of industrialization at home. Many of Ruskin's most famous writings that promote his aesthetic vision, from *Modern Painters I* (1843) to *St. Mark's Rest*, directly address, often with outright hostility, tourists who might use these volumes while traveling abroad.

Despite Ruskin's professed distaste for what he once called the "modern steam-puffed tourist," many of the works he completed throughout his long career envision Europe as a place where his readers could be encouraged by his books to refine their aesthetic tastes and learn to appreciate the finer points of Gothic, Byzantine, and other pre-Renaissance architecture.[10] In his view, such tourists could return to England inspired to enact social change in line with the political principles that they had learned abroad. In mastering the aesthetic principles taught by Ruskin, the reader (at least in theory) would learn to distinguish between artistry motivated by deep religious integrity and that which is characterized by showmanship and pride. To Ruskin, this distinction was synonymous with the difference between art and architecture produced before the

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[10] Ruskin, *Praeterita,* 35:111. The phrase "modern steam-puffed tourist" comes from a longer passage in which Ruskin describes, with nostalgia, the slow pace of his first Continental tour with his family, taken in 1835. Of this, he writes: "To all these conditions of luxury and felicity, can the modern steam-puffed tourist conceive the added ruling and culminating one—that we were never in a hurry?"

fifteenth century, and that of the Renaissance. What is even more interesting to examine is how the critic's aesthetic principles consistently accommodated this view, even when he grew disillusioned by institutionalized Christianity in the 1850s. Byzantine and Gothic craftsmen of the Venetian frescoes and the French cathedrals, respectively, emblematized for him the integrity and devotion that modern architecture did not possess. He reverenced the time-consuming nature of pre-Renaissance artisanship and claimed to be able to discern the love and integrity that went into such works.[11]

As I elaborate below, Ruskin's vision of social reform proposed nothing short of restructuring British society in such a way that the great examples of aesthetic beauty that tourists observed abroad—the twelfth-century mosaics of the Basilica of St. Mark's in Venice ("the most precious 'historical picture' this, to my mind, of any in worldly gallery, or unworldly cloister, east or west")[12] and the flying-buttresses of the thirteenth-century Chartres Cathedral (where "I learnt forever what painted glass was")[13]—could be reintroduced once again in England. This political vision championed the integrity of individual laborers: the sort of artisans that once built the great English edifices of the past, such as the cathedrals of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Wells (which he lists in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* [1849] alongside those of Chartres, Rouen, Abbeville, and Carraras as examples of Gothic architecture *par excellence*). Ruskin spent a nearly a

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[11] The second volume of *The Stones of Venice* divides itself into two sections to explain these two older styles—Byzantine and Gothic (the later section includes the book's most famous chapter, "The Nature of the Gothic"). More will be said below about Ruskin's definitions of these styles.

[12] Ruskin, *St. Mark's Rest*, 24:296.

[13] Ruskin, *Praeterita*, 35:626.

lifetime studying Venice, and in its early-Christian architecture he found a solution for what he perceived were the ills of industrialization in England. Since British tourists were visiting Venice in increasing numbers, he believed that he could harness their interest in the Continent to inspire domestic reform and support the sort of labor that created the Continent's finest works of human expression in the first place.

Ruskin's Early Life

Ruskin's parents—and especially his father John James (1785-1864)—had everything to do with their son's early life, especially his development as an expert tourist. The family first went abroad to Paris and Brussels in 1825, when Ruskin was only eight years old. In 1833, Ruskin's mother Margaret (1781-1871) suggested that they imitate the route taken by Samuel Prout (1783-1852) whose *Sketches in Flanders and Germany* (1833)—a book featuring Prout's watercolors of great architectural edifices— had become a family favorite.[14] This trip was more extensive than the first and included Germany, the Italian Alps, and cities of Northern Italy. On an 1835 family tour, a sixteen-year-old Ruskin saw Venice for the first time. The following year, Ruskin's father secured for him a position as a gentleman commoner at Christ Church College, Oxford, but when the young scholar coughed blood while preparing for exams in 1840, his parents sent him back to Italy for two more years to recover. By 1843, Ruskin had returned to England, finished school, and published the first volume of *Modern Painters* under the name of "A Graduate of Oxford."

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[14] Tim Hilton, *John Ruskin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 25.

The Ruskins not only liked to travel, they also liked to travel together. John Ruskin's 1848 marriage to Euphemia ("Effie") Gray (1828-1897) certainly did not alter this familial habit. The couple's pre-wedding tour—which was to include both of Ruskin's parents—had been canceled because of the Continental revolutions and wars of 1848, and so the family brought her instead with them on a tour of the cathedrals of Southern England.[15] After the April wedding, Ruskin invited his father to tour through the Highlands and the Lake District with them on their honeymoon. John James declined the offer.[16] The new couple finally went abroad together to Normandy, where they were safe from the chaos of Paris, and where Ruskin could study Norman architecture (this visit was also important for the research that went into *The Seven Lamps*).[17] When Gray fell ill in 1849, Ruskin and his family traveled to the Continent without her. Later, in an attempt to escape his parents' constant interference, Gray suggested that visit Venice by themselves. The fall and winter of that half-year abroad were fruitful for both Ruskin and Gray, since she enjoyed the lively delights of Venetian society and he came nearly completed *The Stones of Venice*.

Despite Gray's attempts to separate herself and her husband from his parents, John James continued to manage his son's life throughout his adulthood: he selected the young couple's house in London, planned their social engagements in the luminous cultural circles of the metropolis, and paid for all traveling expenses. The couple

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[15] Hilton, *Ruskin,* 122.

[16] Ibid., 120.

[17] Links's *Ruskins in Normandy* an entire book that documents the Ruskin's use of Murray's handbook during the honeymoon.

embarked on a few more voyages together, including one to Scotland in the company of John Everett Millais (1829-1896), the acclaimed young Pre-Raphaelite painter patronized by Ruskin and beloved by Gray. According to nearly everyone whom they encountered during their marriage, including Millais, Ruskin continually neglected his wife, and his ever-hovering parents bullied her—once Millais informed Gray's parents of the fact that Ruskin had not consummated the marriage, they assisted their daughter in securing an annulment in 1854. (Doctors hired by her parents confirmed Gray's story, reporting that they "found that the usual signs of virginity are perfect."[18]) John James, of course, "managed the legal side" of the divorce for his son, and Ruskin did everything he could to erase the experience from any account of his life.[19] Even in *Praeterita* (published between 1885 and 1889), Ruskin's autobiography, he mentions neither Gray nor the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, for whom Ruskin had served as a champion and patron when the movement was in its initial, unpopular stages.

Although John James might be partly to blame for his son's failed marriage, he was also largely responsible for advancing his son's literary career. During Ruskin's youth, John James frequently read aloud at night from the works of Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron in the service of what Ruskin's major biographer calls his "heart's desire": that his son become a great poet.[20] During Ruskin's childhood, the successful sherry

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[18] The decree that announced the annulment read that Ruskin "was incapable of consummating [the marriage] by reason of incurable impotency." See Mary Lutyens, *Millais and the Ruskins* (London: John Murray, 1967), 230.

[19] Hilton, *Ruskin,* 198.

[20] Ibid., 50.

merchant even carried copies of his son's poetry around with him in his pockets at all times.[21] In 1840, Ruskin won the celebrated Newdigate Prize for poetry at Oxford, where his parents had also taken up residence one block from his dormitory. John James allegedly performed much of the research required by the competition.[22]

The diligent father's advocacy did not end when his son became an adult. In 1843, John James offered the John Murray firm the opportunity to publish his son's first volume of *Modern Painters*, though he refused to show them a single page of the manuscript. John Murray III, who was beginning to takeover the firm as his father grew ill, rejected it sight-unseen, claiming that "the public cared very little about [J.M.W.] Turner [1775-1851]," the early nineteenth-century English painter who was the main subject of the book.[23] John James justified the odd strategy he used in this exchange by explaining that he was saving face: "if I sent a sheet [to Murray], and the work was refused, I should be offering P[eter] Stewart a rejected book." Peter Stewart was John James' close friend and, conveniently, a printer for Smith, Elder, and Company, the firm that eventually agreed to publish the volume.[24]

Modern Painters I was relatively successful, and even though it received little attention in the press, numerous literary figures of the time—including Charlotte Brontë (1816-1855), Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865), and George Eliot (1819-1880)—all admired

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[21] Ibid., 29.

[22] Incidentally, Arthur Hugh Clough (1819-1861) took second place in this competition. See Hilton, *John Ruskin,* 49.

[23] Ibid., 72.

[24] Ibid.

it.[25] Despite these accolades, Ruskin resented Murray's rejection and began to write to the publisher about the innumerable flaws he discovered in the *Northern Italian Handbook* (1842), the volume that he had used extensively during his 1845 tour. Ruskin sent even more detailed notes and corrections to Murray upon returning to England in the winter of 1846, a time during which he was completing the manuscript of *Modern Painters II* and writing revisions for a third edition of *Modern Painters I*. The third edition of Murray's *Northern Italian Handbook* (1847) rewarded Ruskin's efforts by making extensive use of his notes, citing him (where it made any attributions at all) simply as "the author of *Modern Painters.*" So great was Ruskin's reputation at this early stage in his career that this epithet sufficed to add credibility to the handbook's edits. By the summer of 1846, when Ruskin returned to Italy (with his father), he was finally the well-known author of very popular works: *Modern Painters I* was in its third edition and *Modern Painters II* had been published. Ruskin's literary success finally put the failures of his personal life into relief.

Ruskin's Aesthetic Vision

Given the number of times the Ruskins went abroad together during the nineteenth century, it is safe to assume they considered it pleasurable to travel as a family. Even Effie Gray appears to have enjoyed her extended stay in Venice with her husband in 1849 (although her husband's habit of choosing work over time with her probably contributed to her pleasure). However enjoyable the voyages may have been, Ruskin also became intimately familiar with changes that took place in the destinations

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[25] Ibid.

that he returned to again and again. His observations of architectural dilapidation, and his horror upon seeing destructive renovation practices in Venice in particular, strengthened his belief that people must be educated about aesthetic principles and history. If his books written for tourists betray a hostile, even patronizing tone, we can attribute that to his anxiety that great artworks in Venice were constantly under threat, and that there seemed little hope in the current climate of supporting the sort of artisanship that had produced such great works in the first place. Though Ruskin longed to encounter fewer tourists on his hallowed Continental routes, his books about Italy seem best suited for people familiar with the country, or even better, people who could read them in real-time as they walked down Italian streets.

Because Ruskin believed that aesthetic principles were closely related to the relative health of a community, his writings about foreign architecture do not limit themselves to explaining why Gothic buildings and pre-Renaissance works of art are great. These works also include prescriptions for how fellow Britons can revive great artistic traditions themselves through social reform. Even as early as *The Seven Lamps,* Ruskin articulates this vast vision for England, wishing it to become a place that values individual laborers and celebrates great artwork:

> As soon as we possess a body of sculptors able, and willing, and having leave from the English public, to carve on the facades of our cathedrals portraits of the living bishops, deans, canons, and choristers, who are to minister in the said cathedrals; and on the facades of our public buildings, portraits of men chiefly moving or acting in the same; and on our buildings, generally, the birds and flowers which

are singing and budding in the fields around them, we shall have a school of

English architecture. Not till then.[26]

On this view, architectural ornamentation should reflect particular aspects of the

building's function and refer specifically to its elements found in its immediate

community. Only an artist deeply familiar with his surroundings could know what to

create, and only one with great training and skill could render such detail with any

accuracy. This philosophy of architecture and ornamentation—one that requires local-

artisanship and deep training—necessarily obviates the need for the mass-produced

building materials characterizing Victorian architecture. More to the point, it focuses on

a set of aesthetics that runs counter to that of the Renaissance.

Censure of the Renaissance—its aesthetics, morals, and politics—became a

ubiquitous refrain throughout Ruskin's career. During the 1840s, he articulated and

refined this condemnation at the same time as the modern use of the term

"Renaissance" found a place in the British lexicon. In the 1830s, the word had started

denoting a period "which began in Italy in the 14th cent. and spread throughout most of

Europe by the end of the 16th."[27] Catherine Grace Frances Gore (1798-1861), a British

novelist and playwright, receives credit in the *OED* for the earliest modern use of the

word in her 1836 novel *Diary of a Désennuyée*: "At present I find people less infatuated

here with the Gothic furniture, and the style of *la renaissance*."[28] The first Continental

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[26] Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, in *The Works of John Ruskin,* 8:11.

[27] "Renaissance, 1a," *OED Online,* March 2016,

http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/162352?redirectedFrom=renaissance#eid.

[28] Catherine Grace F. Gore, *The Diary of a Désennuyée* (London: Colburn, 1836), 205.

European use of the term is much earlier, found in the famous *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, from Cimabue to Our Times* (1550), the canonical study of artists and history that Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) published in 1550 and revised in 1568.[29] This volume, probably the most influential book about art in European history, was favored by many well-known Victorians—most notably Robert Browning, whom it inspired to write some of his most famous poems about art, sculpture, and Renaissance figures.[30] For Vasari, the word "*rinascita"* described the stylistic changes Tuscan artists like Cimabue (1240-1301) and Giotto made to the Gothic aesthetics that preceded them. "Rebirth" had signified a much-needed evolution away from the barbarities of the Gothic age, in Vasari's view. According to Edward Chaney, this term was meant to signal a "revival of the spirit killed [first] under the first Christian emperor Constantine" with his "over-ripe civilization," and which had been fully annihilated during the invasions of "barbarian" or "Gothic" tribes by the end of the fifth century.[31] According to this formulation, the decline of Rome precipitated a period of relative darkness in the arts. Geniuses like Michelangelo and Raphael, however, eventually elevated the arts to unprecedented levels of perfection—although Ruskin

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[29] Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite De' Più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori, e Architettori da Cimabue Insino a' Tempi Nostri* (Bologna: Torrentino, 1550).

[30] Many poems written by Robert Browning were based on information about art and artists he had studied in Vasari's classic tome. See Browning, *Dramatic Lyrics* (London: Moxon, 1842) and *Men and Women* 2 vols. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1855).

[31] Edward Chaney, Introduction to *England and the Italian Renaissance*, ed. John Hale (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), x.

would also claim that these fifteenth-century geniuses rarely possessed "original thoughts." Ruskin explains in an 1854 lecture that "even Raphael and Michel Angelo themselves borrowed all their principal ideas and plans of pictures from their predecessors; but they executed them with a precision up to that time unseen."[32]

Jules Michelet's *Histoire de France* (1855) and John Addington Symonds' seven-volume work *Renaissance in Italy* (1875-1886) codified the meaning of "renaissance" for British readers, while Walter Pater's *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873) formally canonized the period for scholars of art history.[33] Although "renaissance" eventually became an uncontroversial term used to represent a historical period, for both Vasari and Ruskin the term existed in a dialectical relationship with the "Gothic." Ruskin deployed "renaissance" ubiquitously as a pejorative tag for styles he considered to be vain and showy. Vasari and his nineteenth-century acolytes used "Gothic" as a pejorative signifier of the darkness and disorder that preceded the light and order of the Renaissance. Pater criticizes this dialectic in the beginning of his often-revised and extremely popular *Studies*, arguing that he found this binary to be both unhelpful and "false":

> The subjects of the following studies are taken from the history of the
> Renaissance, and touch what I think the chief points in that complex, many-sided

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[32] Ruskin, "Turner and his Works," *Lectures on Architecture and Painting 1854*, in *The Works of John Ruskin,* 12:109.

[33] Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France* (Paris: Hachette, 1855); John Addington Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy,* 7 vols. (London: Smith, Elder, and Company, 1875-1886); Walter Pater, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1873).

movement. I have explained in the first of them what I understand by the word,

giving it a much wider scope than was intended by those who originally used it to

denote that revival of classical antiquity in the fifteenth century which was only

one of many results of a general excitement and enlightening of the human mind,

but of which the great aim and achievements of what, as Christian art, is often

falsely opposed to the Renaissance, were another result. This outbreak of the

human spirit may be traced far into the middle age itself, with its motives already

clearly pronounced, the care for physical beauty, the worship of the body, the

breaking down of those limits which the religious system of the middle age

imposed on the heart and the imagination.[34]

Pater sought to renovate the reputation of the Middle Ages by attributing enlightened

characteristics to its artwork. The term "Renaissance" itself, he argues, does not need to

pit Christian art against art inspired by Classicism, since medieval Christian artists—like

their Classicist counterparts—also demonstrated "care" for beauty and the human form.

Ruskin's views on the Renaissance challenge the conventional Victorian view of

history, one that championed Vasari's narrative. The stakes were extremely high for

Ruskin because he considered the public's taste for Renaissance aesthetics to be both a

symptom and a cause of the dehumanizing industrial labor practices that had sapped

harmony and beauty from British society and architecture. Even though he did not use

the term "Renaissance" until the late 1840s, his formal assault on the values he would

later attribute to that time period began in *Modern Painters II* (1846), where he often

seems to be in search of a convenient term to use in order to distinguish between great

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[34] Pater, *Studies in the Renaissance*, xi.

and inferior art. This search eventually ended, of course, when he could use "Renaissance" as a catchall for his contempt. In a chapter entitled "Repose, or the type of Divine Presence" in *Modern Painters I,* for example, this murky idea of "repose" fills that linguistic vacancy and is defined—quite unhelpfully—as quality of superior art that is "difficult to describe."[35] Ruskin writes: "no work of art can be great without [repose], and [. . .] all art is great in proportion to the appearance of it."[36] According to his formulation, "Phidias, Michael Angel, and Dante" sit at the top of a hierarchy based upon the presence of "repose" in artistic production, while at the bottom sit "the shallow and unreflecting nothingness of the English schools of art, the strained and disgusting horrors of the French, the distorted feverishness of the German:–pretence, over decoration, over division of parts in architecture, and again in music, in acting, in dancing, in whatsoever art, great or mean, there are yet degrees of greatness or meanness entirely dependent on this single quality of repose."[37]

Another passage from *Modern Painters II* makes a historical distinction between great and bad artwork, again without the benefit of the term "Renaissance" to assist in the explanation: "In Christian art, it would be well to compare the feeling of the finer among the altar tombs of the middle ages, with any monumental works after Michael Angelo, perhaps more especially with works of Roubillac or Canova."[38] According to this formulation, Louis-François Roubillac (1695-1762) and Antonio Canova (1757-1822)

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[35] Ruskin, *Modern Painters II*, in *The Works of John Ruskin,* 4:117.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., 4:119.

[38] Ibid., 4:121.

(sculptors worked in rococo and neo-classical styles, respectively) represented all that was showy and unmoving in comparison to the great work of Michelangelo. In a section examining "Exception in Delicate and Superimposed Ornament" in a chapter on "Abstraction or Typical Representation of Animal Form," Ruskin sounds a theme about the relative superiority of ancient mosaics in St. Mark's Basilica that later became a staple in his defense of early-Christian artisanship:

> I can only ask the reader to compare the effect of the so-called barbarous ancient mosaics on the front of St. Mark's, as they have been recorded, happily, by the faithfulness of the good Gentile Bellini, in one of his pictures now in the Venice gallery, with the veritably barbarous pictorial substitutions of the fifteenth century, (one only of the old mosaics remains, or did remain till lately, over the northern door, but it is probably by this time torn down by some of the Venetian committees of taste,) and also I would have the old portions of the interior ceiling, or of the mosaics of Murano and Torcello, and the glorious Cimabue mosaic of Pisa, and the roof of the Baptistery at Parma, (that of the Florence Baptistery is a bad example, owing to its crude whites and complicated mosaic of small forms,) all of which are as barbarous as they can well be, in a certain sense, but mighty in their barbarism, with any architectural decorations whatsoever, consisting of professedly perfect animal forms, from the vile frescoes of Federigo Zuccaro at Florence to the ceiling of the Sistine, and again compare the professedly perfect sculpture of Milan Cathedral with the statues of the porches of Chartres; only be it always observed that it is not rudeness and ignorance of art, but intellectually awful abstraction that I uphold, and also be it noted that in all ornament, which takes place in the general effect merely as so much fretted

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stone, in capitals and other pieces of minute detail, the forms may be, and

perhaps ought to be, elaborately imitative; and in this respect again the capitals

of St. Mark's church, and of the Doge's palace at Venice may be an example to the

architects of all the world, in their boundless inventiveness, unfailing elegance,

and elaborate finish; there is more mind poured out in turning a single angle of

that church than would serve to build a modern cathedral.[39]

In the distinction that he makes here between "rudeness and ignorance of art" and

"intellectually awful abstraction," we see Ruskin launching an attack on the failure of

institutionalized art to live up to the earnest, if "rude," devotion of early-Christian (that

is, pre-Renaissance) art. The passage divides the "vile" from the "perfect" along

historical lines; "rudeness" is a sign of authenticity and is much preferable to that which

replaces it in the fifteenth century. He prefers the "so-called barbarous" to the "veritably

barbarous"–namely, the old, unpopular versions of Venetian mosaics to the newer ones.

Here popularity signifies poor taste, just as it does throughout many of Ruskin's

writings.

Once "Renaissance" entered Ruskin's lexicon, it became the convenient

periodizing term that he had been seeking. The word appears eight times in the first

edition of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* and ten times in the second edition (1855).

In each instance, Ruskin uses it to describe things that he loathes: he speaks of the "foul

torrent" and "essential baseness" of Renaissance art and architecture. "Wild

meaningless"[40] "overcharged" and "degenerate" ornamentation reflects "the essential

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[39] Ibid., 4:306-07.

[40] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, in *The Works of John Ruskin,* 8:175.

baseness" and "pride" of the style, [41] which is characterized by a penchant for "symmetry" and "largeness" and reflecting "vulgarity and narrowness of mind."[42] This view was not popular or conventional in the 1840s and 1850s, when the British public began to seek out and celebrate Renaissance painting, while so "few English people," lamented Ruskin, "hav[e] ever seen a picture of early Italian Masters."[43] In consequence of the increased popularity of Renaissance artworks, many Victorians acquired what Hilary Fraser terms a "Vasarian view" of art history –a trend that appears to have prompted and intensified Ruskin's contempt for popular tastes.[44] An increased Victorian appetite for the Renaissance per se did not appall Ruskin, even though it might appear that the term became, in the words of John Hale, "a vessel for [Ruskin's] likes and loathings."[45] What struck Ruskin as so repugnant about Renaissance art was that it called attention more to its own greatness than to the religious subjects it purported to celebrate. Artists of the period—Raphael (1483-1520) in particular—were so technically skilled that the beauty of their craftsmanship, rather than the religious subjects they depicted, had become the most compelling aspect of their work. As he

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[41] Ibid., 8:9.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ruskin, "Pre-Raphaelitism (Pamphlet 1851)," *Reviews, Letters, and Pamphlets on Art (1844-1854)*, in *The Works of John Ruskin,* 12:357.

[44] See Hillary Fraser "Resurrected Spirit of Raphael" in *The Victorians and Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992), 44-45.

[45] John Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), xxxiv.

explained in his 1853 lecture praising the new movement known as "Pre-Raphaelitism": "Raphael had neither religion nor originality enough to trace the spirit of poetry and the spirit of philosophy to the inspiration of the true God."[46] Ruskin faulted Renaissance artists such as Raphael for inciting moral decay and avarice since their art drew attention away from religious sentiment that could inspire piety and toward showcasing the individual artist's mastery of his craft.

By comparison, in a chapter entitled "The Shadow on the Dial" in *St. Mark's Rest*, Ruskin gives a broad historical explanation for the moral and aesthetic decay of the Renaissance, using Venice as an example. He lays out four separate periods in the city's history: "growth and formation," "establishment of her reign in justice and truth," "religious meditation" (to which "the entire body of her noble art-works" belongs), and "luxurious use, and display."[47] He links the end of this fourth period, one that is characterized by corruption (during the so-called "high" Renaissance of the sixteenth century, of course) to the death of the famous Venetian painter Tintoretto (1518-1594):

> The fourth period [of Venetian history] is that of the luxurious use, and display, of the powers attained by the labor and meditation of former times, but now applied without either labor or meditation: —religion, art, and literature, having become things of custom and 'costume.' It spends, in eighty years, the fruits of the toil of a thousand, and terminates, strictly, with the death of Tintoret, in 1594; we will say 1600.

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[46] Ruskin, "Lecture IV: Pre-Raphaelitism," in *Reviews, Letters, and Pamphlets on Art (1844-1854)*, 12:149.

[47] Ruskin, *St. Mark's Rest*, 24:254-55.

From that day the remainder of the record of Venice is only the diary of

expiring delirium, and by those who love her, will be traced no farther.[48]

Here and elsewhere, the decline of Venetian society during the Renaissance serves as a

proxy for Ruskin's critique of British society. The ruination of Venice is analogous to the

recent period of industrialization in England, according to this model. In the eighty

years leading up to Tintoretto's death, Ruskin observes, "the fruits of the toil of a

thousand years" created by "labor and meditation" are ruined because those in power

display them as "things of custom and 'costume.'" More binaries help to define the

reasons for which Venice of the present is no longer worth our collective attention:

"Luxurious use, and display" and "custom and 'costume'" have replaced "labor and

meditation" as the habits of the city, and thus the city's true admirers are left

heartbroken. One can easily map the modern rapid industrial production of materials

and the mechanization of labor—a frequent theme (and the subject of "The Lamp of

Truth" in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*)—onto Ruskin's critique of the decline of

Venetian architecture and integrity. The value for the tourist in visiting such a place as

Venice, therefore, lies in being able to draw the proper lessons from the city's decay and

then returning home to implement reforms in order to forestall such a fate from

repeating itself. In this passage, Ruskin also uses the same technique as he deployed in

the opening pages of the book, challenging the reader to affiliate with Ruskin's views or

else be deemed inadequate. The passage suggests standards against which the reader

should compare her own adequacies as a student—nay, "lover"—of Venice. His

manipulative rhetorical practice encourages solidarity, which indicates the high stakes

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[48] Ibid., 24:255.

of his aim to inspire broad social change. Ruskin hyperbolically demands that loving

Venice requires one to care nothing for the city as it exists after Tintoretto's death, and

he invites the reader to share in his author's grief over the matter. Ruskin teaches his

reader here that preferring Byzantine and Gothic styles to more recent art and

architecture is not merely a matter of taste, but a way to share the values of a visionary

movement.

Ruskin sets forth clear principles about why readers should prefer Byzantine and

Gothic styles to those of the Renaissance in the second volume of *The Stones of Venice*.

There, Ruskin defines the Byzantine style as architecture "as practised in Eastern Italy,

during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries."[49] The Byzantine buildings of

Venice share a consistent style, yet also suffer from years and neglect. The Byzantine

period was easy to describe, but Ruskin complained that "I have had great difficulty in

defining the Gothic.'[50] He also believes that any oversimplified definition of Gothic will

be misleading:

> [I]ts outward distinctive test is the trefoiled arch, not the mere point.
> Gothic is pure and impure according to the prominence and severity of
> this arch. If people say, 'Can we build Gothic by covering our buildings
> with trefoils,' I answer No,—any more than a child can write Latin by
> copying words at random out of Cicero, but the words he copies are
> nevertheless the tests of a pure style.[51]

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[49] Ibid., 10:143.

[50] Ibid., 10:180.

[51] Ibid.

The difficulty of defining the Gothic period, he writes, lies in the fact that "the greatest distinctive character of the Gothic is in the workman's heart and mind."[52] Given this subjective and obscure standard of evaluation, it is no wonder that he had to go to such great lengths to further explain it.

In Ruskin's major critical endeavor of the 1850s, *Modern Painters III* (1856), he tries once again to define the Gothic style in a chapter titled "Of the True Ideal: Thirdly, Grotesque." Here, Ruskin explains that the "grotesque" is an art "arising from" three separate sources: the first (which is "comparatively rare") from "healthful but irrational play of the imagination at rest," the second (the result of a "mind at play") from "irregular and accidental contemplation of terrible things; or evil in general," and the third ("thoroughly noble") from "the confusion of the imagination by the present of truths which it cannot wholly grasp."[53] In short, a "fine grotesque" is "the expression, in a moment, by a series of symbols thrown together in bold and fearless connection, of truths which it would have taken a long time to express in any verbal way, and of which the connection is left for the beholder to work out for himself."[54] This type of "expression"–one that is thrown together" and that is verbally indescribable–admits none of the "symmetry" of the Renaissance style that Ruskin loathes. He justifies his advocacy for a return to these early styles as an important antidote to contemporary failures in craft and artistry:

For the grotesque [is] not only a most forceful instrument of teaching, but a most

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Ruskin, *Modern Painters III*, in *The Works of John Ruskin,* 5:130-31.

[54] Ibid., 5:132.

natural manner of expression, springing as it does at once from any tendency to

playfulness in minds highly comprehensive of truth. . . . Hence it is an infinite

good to mankind when there is full acceptance of the grotesque, slightly sketched

or expressed; and, if field for such expression be frankly granted, an enormous

mass of intellectual power is turned to everlasting use, which, in this present

century of ours, evaporates in street gibing or vain reveling; all the good wit and

satire expiring in daily talk, (like foam on wine,) which in the thirteenth and

fourteenth centuries had a permitted and useful expression in the arts of

sculpture and illumination, like foam fixed into chalcedony [stone].[55]

Transient "good wit and satire," once preserved and expressed by art, are now "expiring

in daily talk." The instructive playfulness of the grotesque, despite its imperfection,

simply reflects the "human race" truthfully. Further, the benefits of the grotesque—

which could be rendered accessible again by reintroducing the Gothic—provide nothing

short of "infinite good."

    As far as Ruskin was concerned, ugly art and architecture precipitated a decline

in faith, largely because the irreligious attitudes of Renaissance artists and architects

deprived their cities of the necessary moral instruction that good art should provide.

Early in his career, this conviction lead Ruskin to support the "Pre-Raphaelites," whose

techniques and philosophy caused what Ruskin called a "schism" in the London art

world in the late 1840s and 1850s.[56] Although Ruskin deplored the "unfortunate and

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[55] Ibid., 5:138-39.

[56] "Schism" is the word Ruskin uses to describe the controversy surrounding the Pre-Raphaelite

Brotherhood in "Lecture IV: Pre-Raphaelitism," 12:134.

somewhat ludicrous name of 'Pre-Raphaelite Brethren'" (the grouping included several gifted artists besides Millais), he supported their "assertion that the principles on which art has been taught for these three hundred years back are essentially wrong, and that the principles which ought to guide us are those which prevailed before the time of Raphael."[57] Sharing a contempt for Raphael and a fondness for Keats, artists Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882), William Holman Hunt (1827-1910), Millais, Rossetti (1828-1882), and Rossetti's brother, the writer William Michael (1829-1919), among others, worked and lived together in London, and they resolved to turn "more devotedly to Nature as the one means of purifying modern art" in their own work.[58] The "first principle of Pre-Raphaelitism," according to Hunt, was "to eschew all that was conventional in contemporary art."[59] For their anti-authoritarian principles, the group faced severe public censure, particularly in response to their paintings' exhibition at the Academy in 1851. Ruskin came to their defense and publicly responded to this volley of criticism by writing a letter to the *Times*: "In the midst of this helplessness," according to Holman, this letter was "thunder as out of a clear sky."[60] Of their works, Ruskin writes: "there has been nothing in art so earnest or so complete as these pictures since the days of Albrecht Dürer."[61] (Dürer [1471-1528] was a German Renaissance woodcut

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[57] Ibid.

[58] William Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, 2 vols. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905), 1:112.

[59] Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism*, 125.

[60] Ibid., 254.

[61] Ibid., 255. Ruskin also celebrated the high skill-level of Albrecht Dürer in *Modern Painters II*.

artist, made famous for his dramatic, Gothic Biblical scenes.) Ruskin offered these artists both rhetorical and financial support. Soon after writing the letter in their defense, he began to visit them, travel with them, and even commission paintings from them.[62]

It is in that particular context, when Ruskin rose to defend the Pre-Raphaelites against public opinion, that he also began to make a clear distinction between medieval and modern art–much in alignment with the principles of Hunt, Millais, et al. In his 1854 Edinburgh Lecture on "Pre-Raphaelites," Ruskin justifies his view: "In medieval art, thought is the first thing, execution the second; in modern art execution is the first thing, and thought the second. And again, in medieval art, truth is first, beauty second; in modern art, beauty is first, truth second."[63] Ruskin argues that a community that prefers bad architecture and artwork is also one that prioritizes beauty over feeling and devotion: a true sign of declining moral principles. In this passage, he pairs thought with truth, execution with beauty–a pithy summary of what he found to be so valuable in the Gothic and Byzantine styles, and what he saw was so lacking in the styles of the Renaissance and his own time. Ruskin drew this particular point into focus in his 1870 lecture on "The Relation of Art to Use." There, he argues:

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[62] In 1853, Ruskin brought his wife Effie Gray and Millais to Scotland for a holiday together so that Millais would have time to study and paint a portrait of him. This was the period during which an affection between Gray and Millais grew that eventually led to their marriage. See Hilton, *Ruskin,* 178-98 for details about this particular period.

[63] Ruskin, "Lecture IV: Pre-Raphaelitism," *Reviews, Letters, and Pamphlets on Art*, 12:150.

almost the whole system and hope of modern life are founded on the notion that

you may substitute mechanism for skill, photograph for picture, cast-iron for

sculpture. That is your main nineteenth-century faith, or infidelity. You think you

can get everything by grinding—music, literature, and painting. You will find it

grievously not so; you can get nothing but dust by mere grinding.[64]

 The increasingly reproachful tone of Ruskin's later works like this demonstrates the

author's anxiety concerning the preservation of great pre-Renaissance art and

architecture–casualties of a "modern life" that has turned against skilled craftsmanship.

In more than four decades of Continental travel, Ruskin had witnessed the

modification and destruction of buildings and artwork that he had studied and grown in

his repeated visits. In an 1849 article on the English architectural painter Samuel Prout,

for example, Ruskin rues these losses: "Nominal restoration has done tenfold worse, and

has hopelessly destroyed what time, and storm, and anarchy, and impiety had spared."[65]

He believed that by retraining his readers to favor early styles, he could help to protect

such works from the havoc that modern developers had wrought on the Basilica. More

important, in creating a market for individual laborers and skilled craftsmen capable of

producing such valuable works once again, Ruskin and his acolytes aimed to salvage

their nation from the ill-considered aesthetics and material poverty caused by

industrialization.

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[64] John Ruskin, "Lecture IV: The Relation of Art to Use," *Lectures on Art: Delivered Before the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1870,* in *The Works of John Ruskin,* 20:96-97.

[65] Ruskin, "Samuel Prout," *Reviews and Pamphlets on Art,* 12:314.

One of the main outcomes of *Modern Painters III* was Ruskin's turn to a practical vision for social reform, one that prioritized supporting the labor of skilled craftsmen that had fallen out of fashion. Social reform started to replace art and architecture as a main topic in Ruskin's later works such as *Unto This Last* (1860), which critiques Victorian political economy, and *Fors Clavigera* (mentioned earlier).[66] His vision was ambitious, as he aimed to change every facet of modern society, as he explains in an 1871 letter in *Fors Clavigera*: "We might yet, learn to hope for [. . .] unimagined good by considering what it has been possible for us to reach of unimagined evil. Utopia and its benediction are probable and simple things, compared to the Kakotopia [an 'evil' place] and its curse, which we had seen actually fulfilled."[67] Ruskin formed the Guild of St. George in that same year, and he also tried to literalize his vision when in 1874, as Oxford's first Slade Professor of Art, he enlisted his students (including Oscar Wilde) to mend the dilapidated North Hinksey road in a rural village near the university. It is thus not unreasonable to argue that his particular style of writing for tourists—one that delivered a curriculum of aesthetic education—was yet another avenue through which the author could train a wide readership in how to challenge what he considered to be oppressive economic and aesthetic conditions in England.

Preservation as Religion

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[66] Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera,* 27:13. Mahatma Ghandi cited *Unto This Last* as having inspired his "Sarvodaya" philosophy of uplifting the poor of India. He translated the book into Gujarati in 1908.

[67] Ruskin, "Letter 8: Not as the World Giveth, August 1871," *Fors Clavigera,* 27:144

The enduring value of pre-Renaissance art, in Ruskin's view, was the way in which its artistic feats—from the frescoes of Giotto to the chapel of Torcello—inspired religious devotion in those who witnessed them. In contrast, according to Ruskin, Renaissance artists only used the celebration of their god as a vehicle for self-promotion since "the men of the succeeding century (the fifteenth) felt that they could not rival their predecessors in invention, but might excel them in execution."[68] His deep conviction in the integrity of early-Christian artisans strengthened during his lifetime of study, and it forms a consistent theme in works from every phase of his career. Just as his advocacy of such artisanship grew—coming to full bloom in the explicit tenets of the Arts and Crafts Movement that he inspired in the 1880s—Ruskin's personal religious beliefs underwent severe transformation.[69] His faith in the devoted laborer, which remained a persistent theme throughout his writing for tourists, appears to have

[68] Ruskin, "Lecture III: Turner and his Works," 12:109.

[69] Walter Crane (1845-1915), the first president of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society (founded in 1887), articulated the main tenets of the Arts and Crafts Movement as follows: "The movement represents in some sense a revolt against the hard mechanical conventional life and its insensitivity to beauty. It is a protest against that so called industrial progress which produces shoddy wares, the cheapness of which is paid for by the lives of their producers and the degradation of their users. It is a protest against the turning of men into machines against artificial distinctions in art, and against making the immediate market value or possibility of profit the chief test of artistic merit. It also advances the claim of all and each to the common possession of beauty in things common and familiar." From Walter Crane, "Of the Revival of Design and Handicraft: with Notes on the Work of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society," in *Arts and Crafts Essays*, ed. William Morris (London: Rivington, Percival, & Co, 1893), 12.

replaced his faith in religion, despite the fact that the political economy for which he advocated seemed based upon supporting the religious faith and devotion of that very laborer. According to Ruskin, a city without beautiful and accessible art and architecture ran the risk of succumbing to corruption and moral decay. Venice, in its faded glory and political impotence, emblematized for him the consequences of aesthetic ignorance and apathy in its dirtying streets and its failed renovations.

Later writings such as *St. Mark's Rest* sought to intervene in the tourist's education and prevent similar devastation from occurring back in England. He was inspired to write on behalf of cherished Venetian sites such as St. Mark's because he witnessed what he considered to be egregious changes to it during the course of his own lifetime. In 1838, three years after his first visit to Venice, the ancient mosaic over the main door of St. Mark's Basilica was unceremoniously scraped off. In 1857, Robert Hewison tells us, an architect named Giovanni Battista Meduna (1800-1880) altered even more of the building: "the north side of the church was refaced. The south side followed in 1865, while the floor of the north aisle of the church was leveled and the mosaics replaced."[70] Ruskin believed that all of these alterations were unnecessary, and that the original mosaics should have been saved. By the time he returned to the city in 1845, he was already convinced that the city was in fearful decline. "Venice is lost to me," he wrote in a letter to his parents.[71] Witnessing this devastation inspired the author to hire a small cadre of artists, including painters Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1890) and

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[70] Robert Hewison, *Ruskin and Venice* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 28.

[71] John Ruskin, *Ruskin in Italy: Letters to His Parents 1845*, ed. Harold I. Shapiro (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 200–1.

John Wharlton Bunney (1828-1882), to travel throughout Italy and France in order to make copies of threatened artwork.[72] Inspired by this course of action, Ruskin's protégé William Morris founded the "Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings" in 1877 in order to raise money for and promote preservation of precious old architecture at home and abroad.

Educating his wide readership on preservation was one of Ruskin's many strategies for preventing further destruction of important works. Given his fervent desire to prevent destructive renovations, and given how important an understanding of good architecture was to realizing his vision of social reform, Ruskin's tone became increasingly hostile in reference to other guidebooks—particularly Murray—in his later writings. We have already seen this ferocious urgency in the very opening lines of *St. Mark's Rest,* which dictatorially commanded where its readers should stand and look. Ruskin impugns the curiosity of a reader who does not know the answer to—or has not thought even to ask—the questions posed here: "Have you any idea why . . . these pillars were once . . . more renowned than the Monument...?" This acerbity also invites the reader to join Ruskin in lambasting the apparent insufficiency of the ubiquitous "Murray"-like advice dispensed to tourists. After all, as the subtitle of *St. Mark's Rest* makes clear, this book about Venice is for the *Few Travellers* who *Still Care.*

By educating tourists in the history of a tourist site and by suggesting the right questions to ask about monuments, beloved examples of artwork and architecture were less likely to be destroyed or renovated, according to Ruskin's vision. Further, *St. Mark's Rest,* like so many of his works about Venice, presents the city's history as a moral

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[72] Hewison, *Ruskin and Venice,* 28.

lesson about social decay—a lesson that the tourist could take home to England. To understand how Ruskin's aesthetic philosophy served as the basis for his vision of social reform, we have to begin by examining the reasons for which preserving old buildings and artworks became so central to his concerns about Continental art in general, and the monuments of Venice in particular. His personal loss of faith in the middle of his life complicates this matter: he went on believing in the steadfastness of faithful laborers, and their power to inspire religious devotion, even after he experienced what he came to call his "unconversion." It is also crucial to analyze his moment of "unconversion" because it occurred, according to his account, when he was on a tour of Italy looking at art. Strangely enough, his aesthetic philosophy did not appear to change along with his faith, even though the philosophy itself was based ostensibly upon a belief in the integrity inherent to works of art and architecture created by devoted Christian laborers. It follows that what faith Ruskin lost in church doctrine gradually became replaced by his devotion to the laborer and to preserving that which the noble had the potential to create.

In *Praeterita*, Ruskin describes the event that precipitated his sudden loss of faith–an event he came to call the "Queen of Sheba crash."[73] While visiting a Turinese gallery in August 1858, the thirty-year-old Ruskin—raised a strict Evangelical Christian—spent an hour meditating on the *Presentation of the Queen of Sheba* (1584) by Paolo Veronese (1528-1588). He then spent an entire week obsessively sketching and painting various details of the piece.[74] He claims that the gold-brocaded gown of the

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[73] John Ruskin, *Praeterita*, 35:495.

[74] Ruskin's own drawing: http://www.harvardartmuseums.org/art/299039 from 1858

queen's maid-of-honor, which was "relieved by a black's head, who carried two red and green parrots on a salver," turned into a central fixation of that particular visit to Northern Italy.[75] Upon his return, Ruskin's father responded with "extreme amazement and disgust" when his son showed him that "the petticoat, parrots, and blackamoor, home" were "the best fruit of" his summer.[76] Despite John James's revulsion, Ruskin's obsession with the painting's beauty catalyzed the "unconversion." In *Fors Clavigera,* he writes about that summer and its effects upon his religious beliefs: "My work on the Venetians in that year not only convinced me of their consummate power, but showed me that there was a great *worldly* harmony running through all they did—opposing itself to the fanaticism of the Papacy."[77] It appears that these images were so beautiful that even the taint of Catholicism had no way of decreasing their beauty. There was no threat that he would become Catholic as a result of this epiphany ("Protestantism or nothing" he explains), but the "God-given power" of Veronese's work catalyzed doubt. Later that same day, he attended a service at "a Waldensian chapel" and heard a terrible sermon that struck him as arrogant and hypocritical—the "audience of seventeen old women and three louts"—were told by the priest that "they were the only children of God in Turin."[78] Ruskin recalled this same episode later when writing the third volume

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[75] John Ruskin, *Praeterita*, 35:495.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ruskin, "Our Battle is Immortal," *Fors Clavigera*, 29:87-89.

[78] The "Waldensians" were a small Christian community, founded in Lyon in the twelfth century, that spread through the Alps and were characterized by their adherence to poverty in reaction to the corrupt opulence of the medieval Catholic church. Waldensians flourished particularly in the

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of *Praeterita*, recalling the sound of the "floating swells and falls of military music, from the courtyard before the palace" where he was looking again at the Veronese painting. The sounds were "more devotional, in their perfect art, tune, and discipline, than anything I remembered of evangelical hymns."[79] In short, beautiful artwork and perfect music forever rendered church obsolete for Ruskin.

The opulent, glowing colors of Veronese's painting and the perfect precision of the military music put the dry Protestant service into relief; Ruskin felt the true "Spirit of God" in his experiences of secular art rather than in those of the institutionalized religion in which he had been raised. His "unconversion" represented a significant philosophical shift for a man whose education had been framed by his parents' Evangelism and whose primary object of study had been the way in which art and architecture supported Christian religious devotion. The explanation for this is that even after the "unconversion," Ruskin remained loyal in his devotion to the idea of the noble, pious laborer even though his religious views (many of which undergirded his philosophy) changed radically. Despite his own loss of faith in the institutions of religion, Ruskin believed that authentic, humble Christians produced better art than Renaissance artists. In books spanning his entire writing career, Ruskin consistently contends, despite the transition in his own religious views, that if British travelers in Italy come to appreciate the superiority of early-Christian art and architecture, they will

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Piedmont and merged peacefully with Protestant communities following the Reformation. See Nicholas Weber, "Waldenses," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, accessed January 14, 2016, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15527b.htm>.

[79] Ruskin, *Praeterita,* 35:495

return to England committed to bringing about the social reform necessary to support that sort of artisanship again.

Religious Prejudice

Just like Eustace and Palgrave before him, Ruskin saw anti-Catholic prejudice as a formidable obstacle facing his mission to turn his Protestant readers into advocates of preservation and pre-Renaissance artisanship. As we saw in chapter one, Eustace cloaked his radical advocacy for religious tolerance in an apologetics that endeared him to Protestant readers in the upper echelons of British society–namely, those who toured Europe. In consequence, the popularity of his famous guidebook abetted his political cause, helping many readers who used it abroad—and the many more armchair travelers who read it at home—to understand the nuances and history of Roman Catholic ritual from a source unfettered by anti-Catholic prejudice. Ruskin's writings also sought to dispel religious prejudice in his readers, and his commitment to pre-Renaissance artisanship was based on the belief that it inspired religious devotion and social harmony better than styles from the fifteenth-century onward. While Eustace's advocacy of Catholicism is straightforward, it seems richly ironic that Ruskin, who started as an Evangelist and ended as an agnostic, would align himself with the Roman Catholic artisanship that preceded the Renaissance while preserving a critique of—and often execrable prejudice against—the faith it represented.

Like Eustace, Ruskin thought that his readers' prejudices against Roman Catholics could threaten proper appreciation of the architecture he favored. Unlike Eustace, however, Ruskin only cared about prejudice against the Church of Rome insofar as it affected a traveler's ability to appreciate pre-Renaissance craftsmanship.

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Eustace explained that a tourist must understand that she is arriving in Italy with a set of tastes reflecting British architectural traditions: "all the great edifices dedicated to religion in our own country are Gothic and Saxon, while Greek and Roman architecture is seen only in palaces, villas, and theatres."[80] Eustace claimed that British travelers would be confused by the sentiment behind Italian architecture, accustomed as they were to associating Roman and Classical styles with governmental and aristocratic dwellings. Ruskin produces a different interpretation about how to read these styles: he contends that Renaissance architecture was built out of "expediency and convenience" during a time of decaying morals.[81]

Ruskin's criticism of the decline of Venice also applied to Europe as a whole, as he explains in *St. Mark's Rest* when describing the city's religious and political histories as "intense abstracts of the same course of thought and events in every nation of Europe."[82] In his view, the decline of these nations is always a consequence of declining religious faith. His perspective is somewhat ironic given that his summary of the rise and fall of Continental culture ("The acceptance of Christianity—the practice of it—the abandonment of it—and moral ruin") emerged nearly twenty years after his

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[80] John Chetwode Eustace, *Tour through Italy, Exhibiting a View of Its Scenery, Its Antiques, and Its Monuments; Particularly as They Are Objects of Classical Interest and Elucidation: With An Account of the Present State of Its Cities and Towns; and Occasional Observations on the Recent Spoliations of the French*, 2 vols. (London: J. Mawman, 1813), 1:5 (emphasis in original), 2:344.

[81] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, 10:123.

[82] Ruskin, *St. Mark's Rest*, 24:258.

"unconversion." [83] Although this formulation seems to hold declining nations to a higher standard of faith than he held himself to, it is worth remembering that Ruskin's loss of faith amounted to a loss of trust in church and contemporary religious doctrine. Beautiful art and craftsmanship demonstrated the artisan's genuine devotion to his god, not necessarily adherence to institutionalized religion itself. When describing the period of "acceptance" and "practice," Ruskin imagines the "gentle manners" of twelfth-century Venetians as they refashioned their homes when they increasingly engaged in international trade and, as a result, amassed wealth: "Rooms begin to be matted and wainscoted; shops to hold store of marvelous foreign wares."[84] Ruskin, however, laments:

> No country stays more than two centuries in this intermediate phase between
> Faith and Reason. . . . [W]ealth and luxury, with the vanity of corrupt learning,
> foul the faith of the upper classes, who now begin to wear their Christianity, not
> tossed for a crest high over their armor, but stuck as a plaster over their sores,
> inside of their clothes. Then comes printing, and universal gabble of fools;
> gunpowder, and the end of all the noble methods of war; trade, and universal
> swindling; wealth and universal gambling; idleness, and universal harlotry; and
> so at last—Modern Science and Political Economy; and the reign of St. Petroleum
> instead of St. Peter. Out of which God only knows what is to come next; but He

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[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid., 24:262.

does know, whatever the Jew swindlers and apothecaries' 'prentices think about it.[85]

Ruskin does not take issue with Christianity per se, but rather with an ignoble, smeared version of it that has been subjugated by the bodily and lust-filled needs of its adherents. No longer an emblem of honor—a "crest under which to fight and conquer"—religious devotion sneaks around, hiding its wounds. According to this view, even printing technology contributed to social ruin because it facilitated "universal gabble." Decline also meant losing the "noble methods" of war–surely characterized by Crusade-like ventures fought under the "crest of Christianity." The disciplines of "Modern Science and Political Economy"—uncharacteristically capitalized here to imply institutionalization, perhaps—mark the culmination of this litany of evils. Many critics have already pointed to this prophetic passage, with its suggestion that "St. Petroleum" eventually replaces "St. Peter," as a seed of twentieth-century environmentalism.[86] This harrowing catalog of decline concludes with a menacing avowal of God's omniscience and a jab against both the "Jew swindlers" and quack-apothecary apprentices who appear to be in competition with the divine for the trust of society's most vulnerable citizens.

Following this passage, Ruskin anticipates a possible reaction to this hyperbolical inventory of societal ills when he begins the very next chapter of *St. Mark's Rest* with the

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[85] Ibid.

[86] See Michael Wheeler, *Ruskin and the Environment: The Storm-cloud of the Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

following question: "Are you impatient with me?"[87] The distraught imaginings above, in which he predicts the ugliest possible consequences of social decline, betrays the urgency of his social message about the history of Venice. Here, already one-third of the way through the book, Ruskin is self-conscious about the appeal of his tone, fearing perhaps that he might have put off readers who, in his book, were seeking a scholarly tourist guidebook more illustrious than the ones Murray's editors had written. This new chapter guesses at its reader's expectations: "you wish me, ceasing preamble, to begin— 'In the year this, happened that' and set you down a page of dates and Doges to be learned off by rote?"[88] Ruskin is making certain that the reader understands that his work has higher stakes than the mere guidebooks with which the experienced tourist is familiar. His book will give some historical information about the sights of Venice, but not without berating the reader a bit for not knowing the information already, and not without reminding her along the way that his book is better than "your Murray."

In order to understand the degree to which Ruskin encouraged readers' sympathy for Continental Christian artisans as part of his vision of domestic social reform, we can return to the beleaguered mosaics of St. Mark's Basilica. The following passage enables us to track the increasing urgency Ruskin displayed in his quest to educate readers because ignorance of the mosaics' historical and religious significance constantly put these artifacts in peril. After all, Ruskin had already witnessed some of the precious mosaics of the Basilica smashed to smithereens during his lifetime. In this excerpt from *The Stones of Venice,* Ruskin imagines an interlocutor who contradicts his opinion

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[87] Ruskin, *St. Mark's Rest*, 24:65.

[88] Ibid.

about the Basilica's mosaics. The interlocutor objects to these twelfth-century works of art on the grounds that they are "utterly barbarous as representations of religious history."[89] Ruskin first accepts this premise as a way to challenge its logic, stating that even if the mosaics are barbarous, that does not necessarily mean that they "were ineffective in religious teaching."[90] The critic fails to appreciate the deprivations of medieval life and the needs of illiterate churchgoers who wish to learn stories from the Bible. Ruskin attempts to reeducate the critic:

> the whole church as a great Book of Common Prayer; the mosaics were its illuminations, and the common people of the time were taught their Scripture history by means of them, more impressively perhaps, though far less fully, than ours are now by Scripture reading. They had no Bible, and—Protestants do not often enough consider this—*could* have no other. We find it somewhat difficult to furnish our poor with printed Bibles; consider what the difficulty must have been when they could be given only in manuscript. The walls of the church necessarily became the poor man's Bible.[91]

Here, Ruskin solicits sympathy for early Christians, and he finally resolves against the initial premise that his interlocutor had presented. Ruskin even expresses regret at having allowed such an offensive and incorrect premise to stand in the first place:

> I have to deprecate the idea of their execution being in any sense barbarous. I conceded too much to modern prejudice, in permitting them to be rated as mere

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[89] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, 10:127.

[90] Ibid., 10:129.

[91] Ibid., 10:128-29.

childish efforts at coloured portraiture: they have characters in them of a very

noble kind. So far am I from considering them barbarous, that I believe of all

works of religious art whatsoever, these, and such as these, have been the most

effective. They stand midway between the debased manufacture of wooden and

waxen images which is the support of Romanist idolatry all over the world, and

the great art which leads the mind away from the religious subject to the art

itself.[92]

Ruskin reasons his way out of the premise posited by his hypothetical interlocutor, to

whose view—that of "modern prejudice"—he has "conceded too much." Further, he has

talked himself into an even stronger adherence to the opposite view altogether: that far

from being a "barbarous display," the mosaics of St. Mark's are in fact "noble" and,

moreover, the "most effective" method for educating the lay public and elevating its

minds. The passage concludes by proposing an aesthetic continuum, one which begins

with the tacky "wooden and waxen image . . . of Romanist idolatry" and ends with the

type of art which calls attention to itself—a style that calls to mind what Ruskin

associated with the Renaissance in later works. Between these two extremes, he finds

the perfect middle ground: beautiful art that inspires reverence in the viewer for that

which is depicted. To suggest that the mosaics are "barbarous," according to this

reading, is to ignore their function in history and demonstrate a complete lack of taste.

In a brief appositive phrase in the condemnation above—"Protestants do not

often enough consider this"—we can begin to parse out Ruskin's opinion on the

prejudices that Protestants bring to Catholic art. Contemporary Protestants might

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[92] Ibid.

underappreciate or even dismiss (and thus fail to protect) great works of art simply because they are ignorant of the historical facts that would stimulate their imaginative sympathies. Ruskin devotes a great deal of *The Stones of Venice* to explaining the consequences of misinterpreting early-Christian art and architecture: "The more I have examined the subject the more dangerous I have found it to dogmatize respecting the character of the art which is likely, at a given period, to be most useful to the cause of religion."[93] Part of the so-called "danger" of "dogmatizing," according to Ruskin, is that misunderstanding the art can lead to its destruction. In examining the prejudices of a "Protestant mind," Ruskin locates factors that impede a true understanding and appreciation of great artwork, born from indoctrination and prejudice:

> [M]ost Protestants, entering for the first time a Paradise of Angelico, would be irrevocably offended by finding that the first person the painter wished them to speak to was St. Dominic; and would retire from such a heaven as speedily as possible, —not giving themselves time to discover, that whether dressed in black, or white, or grey, and by whatever name in the calendar they might be called, the figures that filled that Angelico heaven were indeed more saintly, and pure, and full of love in every feature, than any that the human hand ever traced before or since. And thus Protestantism, having foolishly sought for the little help it requires at the hand of painting from the men who embodied no Catholic doctrine, has been reduced to receive it from those who believed neither Catholicism nor Protestantism, but who read the Bible in search of the picturesque. We thus refuse to regard the painters who passed their lives in

[93] Ibid., 10:125.

prayer, but are perfectly ready to be taught by those who spent them in

debauchery. There is perhaps no more popular Protestant picture than Salvator's

"Witch of Endor," of which the subject was chosen by the painter simply because,

under the names of Saul and the Sorceress, he could paint a captain of banditti,

and a Neapolitan hag.[94]

This description offers us an opportunity to examine what Ruskin meant in his

1853 lecture on Pre-Raphaelitism when he praised art with a "moral purpose" in which

"thought is the first thing" and execution is second.[95] In the above passage, a

hypothetical Protestant tourist happens upon an intricate fresco by Fra Angelico (1395-

1455)—here, probably the altarpiece of San Marco (painted between 1438 and 1443), that

features St. Dominic at the bottom right. The phrasing suggests that the beauty of this

work of art is so great that having the chance to view it is commensurate with the

experience of entering heaven itself. The moral purpose of the exceptionally beautiful

artwork therefore is that it evokes an experience of heaven. Even though the subjects of

the painting are important to Roman Catholic ideology, Angelico's representation offers

observers a direct experience of saintliness, purity, and love. Ruskin represents the

beauty of Angelico's subjects with hyperbole ("more saintly… than any human hand

traced before or since"), yet even still, he is concerned that the sight will fail to affect the

Protestant who is overwhelmed and "irrevocably offended" due to prejudice. Such a

viewer flees and cannot access the experience of "such a heaven" that can only be

created by an artist who combines genius and piety in his craft. Most important to

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[94] Ibid., 10:126.

[95] Ruskin, "Lecture IV: Pre-Raphaelitism," 12:150.

Ruskin is that devotion of this caliber transcends the religious schism that the artwork itself predates.

The consequence of this hypothetical Protestant's impulse to flee the scene of beautiful art in the name of religious dogmatism is that it enabled generations of prodigious, yet insincere artists to flourish. Ruskin uses the example of the *Witch of Endor* (1668) by Salvator Rosa (1615-1673)—a painting whose popularity with Protestants incriminates both the artist and the fan alike—as an example of this phenomenon. Ruskin accuses the artist of using the Biblical subject Saul as a ruse for his real goal: to titillate viewers by showing them exotic images of a "captain of banditti, and a Neapolitan hag," neither of which serve a "moral purpose." This indictment against Rosa and his followers sounds one of Ruskin's favorite themes: the condemnation of Renaissance art. Rosa's transgression serves to make Ruskin's case against Protestant prejudice: overwhelming antipathy toward Roman Catholic imagery means that a viewer loses out on an aesthetically pleasing and morally salubrious experience.

Ruskin sought to renovate his readers' tastes sufficiently enough that they could, without his guidance, make distinctions between the pure motivations of early-Christian artisans and the ignoble motivations of Renaissance celebrities. He saw anti-Catholic prejudice affecting his readers' ability to appreciate the superior and instructive "moral purpose" of earlier art–as in the case above with the San Marco altarpiece. Ruskin's description of the Duomo of Murano in *The Stones of Venice* demonstrates his concern about how a piece of work's subject matter might override its appeal to a prejudiced tourist:

> The whole edifice is, therefore, simply a temple to the Virgin: to her is ascribed the fact of Redemption, and to her its praise. "And is this," it will be asked of me,

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"the time, is this the worship, to which you would have us look back with reverence and regret?'" Inasmuch as redemption is ascribed to the Virgin, No. Inasmuch as redemption is a thing desired, believed, rejoiced in, Yes, —and Yes a thousand times. As far as there is the evidence of worship itself, and of the sense of a Divine presence, Yes. For there is a wider division of men than that into Christian and Pagan: before we ask what a man worships, we have to ask whether he worships at all. Observe Christ's own words on this head: "God is a spirit; and they that worship him must worship Him in spirit, *and* in truth."[96]

Again, Ruskin imagines an oppositional interlocutor who proposes arguments against this representation of Mary, that most Catholic of all icons. The author challenges the interlocutor to distinguish between ascribing "redemption" to the Virgin and valuing redemption as a "thing desired, believed, [and] rejoiced" in. Ruskin deploys "Christ's own words" from John 4:24 in this justification—that the "truth" of the devotion on display here outweighs the method. Here, the author reaches toward a vision of shared Christianity—a "wider division of men than into Christian and Pagan"—in order to encourage readers to celebrate shared values over denominational factionalism. In short, the celebration of Christian "redemption" and the "sense of Divine presence" serves a "moral purpose" far beyond the fact that the vehicle of worship, the Virgin Mary, might offend Protestant sensibilities.

"Ugliness" and Moral Decay

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[96] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, 10:67.

Ruskin dedicated his career to the preservation of early-Christian artwork not just for the sake of the art itself, but also because he believed that a society that supported true artisanship and pious labor was better than what had arisen out of nineteenth-century labor conditions. Early on in his career, Ruskin had already begun to lament the effects of industrial labor and urbanization in England:

> [T]he great cry that rises from all our manufacturing cities, louder than their furnace blast, is all in very deed for this,—that we manufacture everything there except men; we blanch cotton, and strengthen steel, and refine sugar, and shape pottery; but to brighten, to strengthen, to refine, or to form a single living spirit, never enters into our estimate of advantages.[97]

The problem with the economic conditions of England, according to this passage, is that efficient commodity production does not enhance the life of the "living spirit." Ruskin's solution to this problem was aesthetic. According to his philosophy, ugly art and architecture were directly responsible for causing moral decay in a community, and poor distribution of ornamentation throughout secular and non-secular spaces could disrupt the faith of citizens. In another passage from *The Stones of Venice,* the author describes the religious consequences of "ugly" architecture upon those doomed to inhabit it:

> So long as our streets are walled with barren brick, and our eyes rest continually, in our daily life, on objects utterly ugly, or of inconsistent and meaningless design, it may be a doubtful question whether the faculties of eye and mind which are capable of perceiving beauty, having been left without food during the whole of our active life, should be suddenly feasted upon entering a place of worship;

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[97] Ibid., 10:196.

and colour, and music, and sculpture should delight the senses, and stir the curiosity of men unaccustomed to such appeal, at the moment when they are required to compose themselves for acts of devotion;—this, I say, may be a doubtful question: but it cannot be a question at all, that if once familiarized with beautiful form and colour, and accustomed to see in whatever human hands have executed for us, even for the lowest services, evidence of noble thought and admirable skill, we shall desire to see this evidence also in whatever is built or labored for the house of prayer; that the absence of the accustomed loveliness would disturb instead of assisting devotion; and that we should feel it as vain to ask whether, with our own house full of goodly craftsmanship, we should worship God in a house destitute of it, as to ask whether a pilgrim whose day's journey had led him through fair woods and by sweet waters, must at evening turn aside into some barren place to pray.[98]

This long passage, which comprises a single sentence, prepares the reader to understand the very high stakes of beautiful architecture and the consequences of its absence in daily life. Ruskin personifies the "faculties of eye and mind"—creatures that feed upon beautiful objects. In his aesthetic system, "barren brick," "objects utterly ugly" and of "inconsistent and meaningless design" cannot adequately satiate the sense faculties. Beauty, defined here as "evidence of noble thought and admirable skill" executed by "human hands," is therefore necessary to human sustenance. This definition ties "beauty" to its human creator, and excludes industrial or mass-produced items from the realm of the beautiful.

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[98] Ibid., 10:122-23.

According to this passage, the design of a community succeeds if it works to "assist" rather than "disturb" the devotion of its inhabitants. Success also means that the aesthetic principles guiding design must establish balance between religious and domestic settings. One cannot, for instance, have a home filled with "goodly craftsmanship" and a church "destitute" of it. In the first of two hypothetical scenarios, Ruskin invites the reader to speculate about what happens when individuals, unaccustomed to seeing beauty in an ugly ordinary world, suddenly are surrounded by it upon arriving to church. In this situation, the ornamentation over-stimulates churchgoers "at the moment when they are required to compose themselves for acts of devotion." In short, an ugly home prepares you poorly for church. Ruskin also presents the reader with what he considers to be a second, more "urgent" aesthetic concern: the competition between anthropogenic and natural beauty. The contrast between that "barren place to pray" and the "fair woods and . . . sweet waters" through which the pilgrim might pass on her way to worship is steep competition indeed for the most skilled artisan. What emerges as important is that Ruskin's aesthetic vision presents a way of defining beauty and a holistic vision about how economic resources should be dispersed in a community. This vision also prescribes how workers should be employed, and how the environments they construct can reflect or subvert ideology. The passage's sympathy-inducing first-person plural gives an impression that Ruskin is sharing a common woe with his reader: a technique that remains consistent, as we saw in *St. Mark's Rest*, throughout all his works.

We can turn to Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* to understand, in greater detail, the author's ideas about the proper distribution of skilled labor throughout a community. In this treatise on architectural and religious philosophy, Ruskin presents

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seven illuminating principles ("lamps") for understanding architecture's role in supporting both daily life and religious devotion. The chapter entitled "Lamp of Sacrifice" proposes that one can measure the worth of art and architecture based on what has been sacrificed in the name of its production. A building of great value, according to this standard, is not necessarily one that has cost a great deal of money or is made with precious materials. Rather, its beauty is commensurate with the degree to which patrons and laborers have deprived themselves in honor of its creation:

> There is no need to offend by importunate, self-proclaiming splendor. Your gift may be given in an unpresuming way. Cut one or two shafts out of a porphyry whose preciousness those only would know who would desire it to be so used; add another month's labor to the undercutting of a few capitals, whose delicacy will not be seen nor loved by one beholder of ten thousand; see that the simplest masonry of the edifice be perfect and substantial; and to those who regard such things, their witness will be clear and impressive; to those who regard them not, all will at least be inoffensive.[99]

Here the column's greatness is inversely related to the number of people who can both see and appreciate the details. The stone it is carved from is quite valuable, but only to those who would know–in other words, it is not an ostentatious material. It might take months to carve the details of the capital, and only one in "ten thousand" might notice those details, but "delicacy" of labor is rewarded by "love" and will be "clear and impressive" to the discerning observer. Implicit here is that the author—and the diligent

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[99] Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 8:40.

reader, presumably—would be among those who will love the achievements of the "simplest masonry."

It should come as no surprise, given how greatly Ruskin valued that which was difficult to see, that so many of his recommendations for travelers involve the instruction to find scaffolds and ladders to climb in order to study hard-to-find images and structures, and that some of the works of art that he most cherished were frescoes rather than artworks that could be displayed efficiently in an art gallery. For instance, in a letter to his friend Edmund Oldfield (1817-1855) in which he discusses their own plans to design a stained-glass window at St. Giles's Church in Camberwell, Ruskin writes of how "not one of the Chartres [Cathedral] subjects in the upper part of the windows is intelligible without a ladder"–so very few people would ever see them.[100] In *The Stones of Venice,* Ruskin describes the tomb of a fifteenth-century Venetian Doge located in the Santi Giovanni e Paolo Basilica. Ruskin accessed the "culminating point" of the tomb, he writes, "by the ministry of such ancient ladders as were to be found in the sacristan's keeping."[101] Like many of these hard-to-access masterpieces, he found it "covered with dust and cobwebs." In a letter to his parents from December 1849, he describes his extensive study of the windows in the library of the Doge's Palace in the Piazza San Marco, which he suspected had once contained tracery despite the librarian's claim to the contrary: "These windows require ladders to get up to them and are difficult in the opening—so it struck me as quite possible that nobody might have taken the trouble to

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[100] Ruskin, "Letters on Painted Glass (1844)," 12:445.

[101] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, 9:50.

look."[102] He finds the bases, holes, and bolts that would have held tracery in place in all of the windows. Finally, he finds a window "which I believe not one of the people who have written on the place know so much as the existence," and sees that its original ornamentation still remained in tact, "capital and all." [103] He concealed this finding from the librarian, saying coyly that the man "may go and look himself, if he likes." It seems fitting here that the inaccessibility Ruskin celebrated also abetted the preservation that he so assiduously sought for such great works.[104]

Consistently through his career, Ruskin cherishes slow craftsmanship for which the laborer is unconcerned with being noticed. In advocating an aesthetic system in which the most valuable works are those which are rarely seen, Ruskin is advocating that his readers take physical risks to see such sights and to make imaginative leaps in order to understand why they are important. In *The Stones of Venice*, for instance,

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[102] Ruskin, Introduction to *The Stones of Venice,* 9: xxx.

[103] Ibid.

[104] There are numerous other examples of Ruskin delighting in the special, often dangerous accommodations he often had to seek in order to view inaccessible ornamentation. For instance, he had to convince the Vatican to let him set up scaffolds in the Sistine Chapel so he could study Botticelli properly (see Jeremy Melius, "Ruskin's Copies," *Critical Inquiry* 42:1 [Autumn 2015]: 65); he had to reassure his father in letters home during his first solo tour that the scaffolds he climbed in Tuscany were sturdy; he brags about the need for scaffolding in his letters to John Murray (see Paul Tucker, "Right Conclusions': Seven Unpublished Letters [1845-1846] from John Ruskin to John Murray," *Annali d'Italianistica* 14 [1996]: 582-620). Scaffolds index Ruskin's commitment to seeing artwork—frescoes in particular—at angles unanticipated by the artists.

Ruskin imagines the unknown laborer who built the Duomo of Torcello, the eleventh-century church on the oldest of all of Venice's islands:

> There is visible everywhere a simple and tender effort to recover some of the form of the temples which they had loved, and to do honour to God by that which they were erecting, while distress and humiliation prevented the desire, and prudence precluded the admission, either of luxury of ornament or magnificence of plan. The exterior is absolutely devoid of decoration, with the exception only of the western entrance and the lateral door...while the massy stone shutters of the windows, turning on huge rings of stone, which answer the double purpose of stanchions and brackets, cause the whole building rather to resemble a refuge from Alpine storm than the cathedral of a populous city... the actual condition of the exiles who built the cathedral of Torcello is exactly typical of the spiritual condition which every Christian ought to recognize in himself, a state of homelessness on earth, except so far as he can make the Most High his habitation.[105]

Here, both nostalgia for his former home and a desire to honor his god through work inform the builder's plans. In this time of hardship and emigration, "distress," "humiliation" and "prudence" have restricted ornamentation, but according to the principle of the "Lamp of Sacrifice," these restrictions also increase the beauty of the building. This mason may be just the sort of figure Ruskin had in mind over twenty-five years later when, in *St. Mark's Rest*, he draws upon "what remainder of belief in Christ may be left in us" to help him imagine "what Christianity was, to people who, without

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[105] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice,* 10:21-22.

understanding its claims or meaning, did not doubt for an instant its statements of fact, and used the whole of their childish imagination to realize the acts of their Saviour's life and the presence of His angels."[106] In straining here to access his "remainder" of faith, Ruskin models for his reader the great feat of imagination required to be able to appreciate fully the sacrifice and devotion demonstrated in a work like this one.

Celebrating the beauty of Torcello, according to Ruskin, requires that the reader discerns and appreciates something as subtle as the unseen porphyrian column: skilled craftsmanship that predates the institutionalized artistic practices codified by the Academy or in the various famous schools of the Renaissance. The work becomes even more precious when one knows the history of those who made it. Of the mason of Torcello, Ruskin imagines that "his feeling of nature was greater than his knowledge of perspective; and it is delightful to see how he has rooted the whole leaf in the strong rounded under-stem, the indication of its closing with its face inwards, and has thus given organization and elasticity to the lovely group of spiral lines."[107] The binaries here between "feeling" versus "knowledge" and "nature" versus "perspective" anticipate those of the 1853 "Pre-Raphaelitism" lecture quoted earlier ("truth" versus "beauty"). In both instances, the author trains us to develop a preference for the former despite the popularity of the latter. Without the use formal techniques perfected by artists such as Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446), Donatello (1386-1466), and Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378-1455) during the Renaissance, the mason of Torcello has achieved a balance between

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[106] Ruskin, *St. Mark's Rest*, 24:263-64.

[107] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, 10:24.

"organization" and "elasticity" in his depiction of nature, despite his hardships.[108] The author takes pleasure in observing the artisan's lack of technical execution, suggesting instead that the builder's understanding of design comes from a direct relationship with nature rather than from institutional knowledge of how art conventionally represents it. In one sense, this artisan's attempt to represent natural beauty helps answer the question posed earlier by *The Stones of Venice* regarding the unwinnable competition between nature's beauty and that of man-made design: a noble and authentic attempt to represent nature, unfiltered by institutional technique, renders art "lovely" enough to inspire worship.

In the passages above from *The Stones of Venice* and *The Seven Lamps*, Ruskin's fantasies about the laborer's subjectivity help to explain why losing religious faith in the 1850s did not deter his interest in the integrity of the laborers themselves. Ruskin's aesthetic vision, if not his religious conviction, consistently prescribed a social world in which artisans support a community's devotion with beautiful architecture and thoughtful design. In turn, inhabitants of the community maintain appropriate decorum in church and provide the artisans with respectful working conditions. Balanced ornamentation and thoughtful design become signs of societal health, and their absence signifies that a community is in decline.

Appreciating Labor

By provoking his readers to imagine a mutually beneficial symbiosis between

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[108] For information about the development of artistic techniques in the Renaissance, see Hale's two chapters on "Taste for Italian Paintings" in *England and the Italian Renaissance*.

laborers and their patrons, Ruskin assigned a new sort of work to his traveler. In order that tourists could measure the meaning of art for themselves and appreciate the labor required of the artists, Ruskin taught them (often in tedious detail) about the technical processes of artisanship.[109] According to his instruction, an educated observer can discern the virtuousness of good craftsmanship. The virtuous laborer's "strength of religious feeling is capable of supplying for itself whatever is wanting in the rudest suggestions of art, and will either, on the one hand, purify what is coarse into inoffensiveness, or, on the other, raise what is feeble into impressiveness."[110] This rough equation proposes that "strength of religious feeling" converts "coarse into inoffensiveness" and "feeble" art ("rude suggestions of art") into "impressiveness." From Ruskin's perspective, strong devotion rather than sophisticated technical skill ennobles a work of art.

In the first volume of *Modern Painters*, for instance, one finds one of Ruskin's first attempts to encourage the reader to imagine the laborer at work. To that end, he defines "Ideas of Power" as

the simple perception of the mental or bodily powers exerted in the production of

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[109] For examples of Ruskin's meticulous descriptions of the intricacies of craftsmanship, see his chapter on the twelve classes of decorations in "Chapter 20, The Material of Ornament" of *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. 9. He wrote technical books for artists, such as *The Elements of Drawing* (1857) and *The Elements of Perspective* (1859). The subtitle of the latter—*Arranged for the Use of Schools and Intended to be Read in Connexion with the First Three Books of Euclid*—should suffice as evidence of the scrupulous nature of his pedagogy.

[110] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, 10:126.

any work of art. . . . Thus, when we see an Indian's paddle carved from the handle

to the blade, we have a conception of prolonged manual labour, and are gratified

in proportion to the supposed expenditure of time and exertion. The delight with

which we look on the fretted front of Rouen Cathedral depends in no small

degree on the simple perception of time employed and labour expended in its

production.[111]

In imagining the labor that made an object, the viewer derives pleasure: the Indian's

paddle creates "gratification," and the intricate frets on the Rouen Cathedral evoke

"delight." Over time, training readers to perceive and appreciate labor became even

more central to Ruskin's political message. In *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, the

chapter defining "The Lamp of Truth" outlines the economics of human labor vis-à-vis

construction materials: "For it is not the material, but the absence of the human labour,

which makes the thing worthless; and a piece of terra cotta, or of plaster of Paris, which

has been wrought by the human hand, is worth all the stone in Carrara, cut by

machinery."[112] The phrase "lamp of truth" refers to the practice of truthfully

representing materials (i.e. do not paint wood to look like marble) and labor (i.e. do not

use "cast-iron or machine-made ornaments of any kind" because "all cast and machine

work is bad . . . [and] is dishonest").[113] From pleasure ("gratification" and "delight") in

Modern Painters I, we have moved onto evaluation in *The Stones of Venice*: cheap

hand-wrought materials are more valuable than "all the [machine-cut] stone in

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[111] Ruskin, *Modern Painters I*, in *The Works of John Ruskin*, 3:94.

[112] Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture,* 3:94.

[113] Ibid. 8:60, 81.

Carrara."

According to Ruskin's vision, a society as depraved as Venice of the fifteenth century and beyond, out of tune with a "moral purpose," inevitably has labor practices that degrade the status of individual workers. Architecture built in an imitation of what Ruskin terms "Roman Renaissance" (or an imitative classical style) signifies this sort of social decay: its repetitious and symmetrical features do not exercise the imagination of individual builders because mass-produced ornamentation can replace handcrafted materials.[114] According to Ruskin, Victorian England was facing the very type of societal decline that leads to bad architecture, with its industrialized material production and its declining numbers of skilled artisans. In urging his readers to imagine the religious devotion required of the early-Christian laborer who helped to create the cathedral of Torcello, he sought to create a demand for the return of such dignified labor practices at home. In *St. Mark's Rest*, Ruskin goes so far as to demand physical labor of his readers so that they can appreciate properly the technical and aesthetic demands required for good craftsmanship.

In the second chapter of *St. Mark's Rest,* where we return once again to the topic of labor, and Ruskin assumes his mantle as art instructor: he gives the reader a carving lesson in order to inspire true appreciation for the two twelfth-century columns in the Piazzetta of St. Marks and to inspire true contempt for the fourteenth-century columns of its Ducal Palace. He begins the lesson by currying solidarity for his disapproval of English architecture: "Twelfth-century capitals, as fresh as when they came to the chisel. . . . Not the least like our clumps and humps and cushions, are they?" He follows this

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[114] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice,* 11:45.

with an insulting (and alliterative) racialization of non-twelfth century Venetian Granite

pillars, describing them as "not savage Norman or clumsy Northumbrian, these; but of

pure Corinthian race." To appreciate this distinction, his reader must "find time for a

little practical cutting of capitals." The lengthy lesson, which I quote below full in order

to provide an example of the intricate nature of Ruskin's instructions to his reader,

begins when he explains when and how to acquire materials for practice: "as you go

home to lunch," buy some Gruyère or "any other equally tough and bad" cheese with few

holes. Next, he leads the reader through a step-by-step process of cutting the cheese in

the style of the Piazzetta capitals with whatever "sculpturesque and graphic talent as

may be in you." The purpose of the lesson is to teach the reader, in only a "quarter of an

hour's carving," to "discern, and to enjoy the treatment of, all the twelfth and thirteenth

century capitals in Venice."[115]

     In learning to appreciate the technical and mechanical details of twelfth- and

thirteenth-century capitals, Ruskin's readers also learn why the fourteenth-century ones

are so inferior. He notes that when looking at the cheese they have already carved that

they "see that . . . a good weight of cheese out of the cube has been cut away in tapering

down those long-leaf corners." He shows them how the fourteenth-century style, which

cuts away less of the block, is also a lazier form of engineering because "you have not

only much less trouble, but you keep a much more solid block of stone to bear

superincumbent weight."[116] When readers return to the Piazzetta after having carved

two capitals, they are ready to feel the full brunt of the lesson:

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[115] Ruskin, *St. Mark's Rest,* 24:223.

[116] Ibid., 24:224.

Now you may go back to the Piazzetta, and thence proceeding, so as to get well in

front of the Ducal Palace, look first to the Greek shaft capitals, and then to those

of the Ducal Palace upper arcade. You will recognize, especially in those nearest

the Ponte della Paglia (at least, if you have an eye in your head), the shape of your

second block of Gruyère,—decorated, it is true, in manifold ways—but essentially

shaped like your most cheaply cut block of cheese. Modern architects, in

imitating these capitals, can reach as far as—imitating your Gruyère. Not being

able to decorate the block when they have got it, they declare that decoration is "a

superficial merit."[117]

To conclude the lesson, having provided the eccentric carving project with a moral

purpose, Ruskin rationalizes both his contempt for the fourteenth-century capitals of

the Ducal Palace and his appreciation for the twelfth-century pair–sentiments,

presumably, that all his well-trained cheese carvers would now share with their teacher.

The humorless tutorial concludes at this point. Ruskin believes that the fourteenth-

century columns do not match their predecessors in quality or spirit, and their bulkier

design betrays the unscrupulous and unprincipled nature of the society that produced

them. It is only by guiding the readers through the labor of carving capitals that Ruskin

can trust them to grasp the full weight of this truth.

Ruskin, like Eustace before him, saw it necessary to articulate ways for Protestant

tourists to appreciate valuable non-Protestant architecture. For Eustace, this task had

been an implicit part of his fight to liberate British Catholics from centuries-long

oppression. For Ruskin, however, this task was part of strategically reforming taste in

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[117] Ibid., 24:223-24.

the service of reforming British society. Whether the two authors' exhortations to their readers really impacted Protestant tourists' understanding of Catholic art is a subject taken up in my chapter on Jemima Morrell. Still, the point is that the authors' attention to Christian architecture signals that the Grand Tour was in transition. What had once been a journey through Classical landmarks became a tour of Roman Catholic sites, and this transformation reflected changes in education and politics. Both Ruskin and Eustace shared the same concern that Protestant tourists' longstanding anti-Catholic prejudices and lack of historical knowledge would lead them to misinterpret sites seen while on tour. Despite his own anti-Catholic prejudice and a declining personal faith in institutionalized religion, Ruskin maintained an unwavering, and often arbitrary faith in the integrity of the ancient craftsmen and architects. Gothic and Byzantine architecture emerged as emblems of Ruskin's philosophy of social reform because these styles required both skill and devotion that Ruskin (and readers that payed close attention) could discern and appreciate. Encouraging the tourist to understand the value of these ancient styles abroad emerged as an important part of an extensive strategy for domestic social reform.

Despite his aversion to commercialized travel and the guidebook industry that supported it, Ruskin's travel writing—especially in its later stages—directly acknowledged tourists as his most important readers. His works corrected and even insulted the guidebook industry in order to strike out against what Ruskin considered to be the harmful social consequences of bad taste and misinformation. His tone in *St. Mark's Rest* is at its friendliest when he invites the reader to share his contempt for

modern architects, trains, cutting down trees, and hard cheese.[118] Such solidarity, mediated through shared contempt for bad taste and ostentatious artistry, makes for less uplifting reading than the ingratiating work of the Murray firm, on the one hand. On the other hand, Ruskin's invitation to his readers to join in the sweet sorrow of eulogizing Venice reads as a gesture of good faith: he believes that through education about history and labor, he can change tastes and reform British society. Ruskin's mournful tone scripts the nostalgia inherent to tourism as a way to promote a concern for decay at home. Great Britain is never far from Ruskin's scope of misery. The "clumps and humps" of British architecture that surface throughout his large body of work are a stirring reminder of what needed to be changed at home.

In the 1870s, Ruskin befriended a Venetian advocate of preservation named Count Alvise Piero Zorzi. The pair shared a ferocious antipathy for destructive renovations throughout Venice, so Ruskin helped the Count publish what became an influential defense of Venice and preservation entitled *Osservazioni Intorno ai Restauri Internied Estauri della Basilica di San Marco* (1877).[119] Ruskin offered his highest praise for the book, exclaiming that his friend's defense of their beloved city was "the best thing I ever saw written on architecture but by myself: and it is more furious than

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[118] Note that Ruskin himself took a train into Venice for the first time in 185?. The opening of Volume II of *The Stones of Venice* is a long elegy to the old style of approaching the city aboard a boat. He laments that the "noble landscape of approach to her can now be seen no more, or only seen by a glance, as the engine slackens its rushing on the iron line" (10:7).

[119] Count Alvise Piero Zorzi, *Osservazioni Intorno ai Restauri Internied Estauri della Basilica di San Marco* (Venice: San Ongania, 1877).

me!"[120] The appendix of *St. Mark's Rest* includes a letter sent by Ruskin to Zorzi in the winter of 1877. In this letter, Ruskin reflects upon his "thirty years of constant labour" spent in "our English schools of art," trying to

> convince our students of the eternal difference between the sculpture of men who worked in the joy of their art, for the honour of their religion, and the mechanical labour of those who work, at best, in imitation, and, too often, only for gain. . . . And the chief purpose with which, twenty years ago, I undertook my task of the history of Venetian architecture was to show the dependence of its beauty on the happiness and fancy of the workman.[121]

So thoroughly and explicitly does Ruskin reveal his purposes that the passage requires little comment. Set in dialogue with his earlier works, however, it enables us to see that the motivations ascribed to the workers here shifted in accordance with his transformation from a Christian evangelical to an "unconverted" agnostic. At one time for him, the goal of artistic achievement was to promote "redemption" and "Divine presence" (one finds both terms in *The Stones of Venice* and the latter in *Modern Painters III*). In this 1877 letter, however, Ruskin measures "beauty" in terms of "happiness and fancy" rather than its redemptive or religious value. Despite this major shift from "redemption" to "fancy" as the standard for assessing achievement, Ruskin's concern and reverence for the craftsman's labor remained consistent. No doubt this concern was born from Ruskin's own significant accomplishments as an artist in his

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[120] Qtd. in David Barnes, *The Venice Myth: Culture, Literature, Politics, 1800 to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 61.

[121] Ruskin, *St. Mark's Rest,* 24:406.

own right. After all, Ruskin's illustrations fill the pages of his books, his watercolor paintings were exhibited internationally during his lifetime, and (as mentioned above) he was Oxford's first Slade Professor of Art.[122]

As we piece together Ruskin's numerous writings on the history of Continental architecture, we must learn to recognize their unique position in the development of nineteenth-century tourist guidebooks. The urgency of Ruskin's aesthetic vision and his detailed explications of craftsmanship and artistry made explicit the political stakes of nineteenth-century Victorian tourism. Even if Ruskin failed to achieve a complete transformation of British social mores and the political economy, one can still measure his enormous influence in the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement, the Gothic revival of the nineteenth-century (and the specific "Ruskinian" Gothic he inspired), the Guild of St. George, and even in the 1907 "founding ideals" of Ruskin, Florida.[123] Maybe

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[122] Robert Hewison, while occupying Ruskin's old post of Slade Professor of Art from 1999 to 2000, curated an exhibition at the Tate Britain with Ian Warrell (of the Tate Gallery) and Stephen Wildman (of the Ruskin Library at Lancaster University) entitled "Ruskin, Turner, and the Pre-Raphaelites" in 2000 which featured Ruskin's artwork alongside that of J.M.W. Turner and the major Pre-Raphaelite artists.

[123] See Lori Robinson and Bill De Young, "Socialism in the Sunshine: The Roots of Ruskin, Florida," *Tampa Bay History* 4 (Spring-Summer, 1982): 5-20. The city wrote its "founding ideals" to form an acrostic of Ruskin's name:

R-ight Relationship	**I-**deals
U-nited Effort	**D**-ignity of Labor
S-ocial Purity	**E**-nnobling of Character
K-nowledge Unfettered	**A** Home for Everyone

most important of all his accomplishments, however, is the fact that a great deal of

Venice was preserved thanks to the popularity of his prose and the reverence he instilled

in his readers about the praiseworthy aims of the city's pre-Renaissance builders.

I-ndustrial Education   **L**-ink Head, Heart and Hand

N-ew Thought   **S**-ex Equality

When it was founded in 1907, Ruskin, Florida was a place where "boys earned extra money by

shooting alligators and selling their hides. The colonists built their own cannery, operating the

whole process, including soldering the cans by hand, without outside assistance." And although

"women had the same privileges as men," it should be noted that "only whites could lease colony

land." (17)

CHAPTER FOUR

The Nineteenth-Century Guidebook and the Anti-Catholic Tourist:

Jemima Morrell's *Swiss Journal*

> Oh! mischievous Mr. James, how dare you swing the hull of that sacred galley! For that pinched in every cracked door and hinge in Kussnacht! [1]
>
> —Jemima Morrell, in *Miss Jemima's Swiss Journal* (1863)

In 1947, while combing through the rubble of the offices of the Thomas Cook travel company that had been bombed during World War II in London, excavators unearthed a tin-box containing the handwritten journal of Jemima Morrell of Yorkshire.[2] The leather-bound book documented Morrell's participation in the first guided tour of Switzerland ever organized by Thomas Cook, the Victorian era's most important entrepreneur of mass tourism. In 1963, to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of their historic journey, the Cook company finally published the journal.[3]

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[1] Jemima Morrell, *Miss Jemima's Swiss Journal: The First Conducted Tour of Switzerland* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1998), 88.

[2] Ann C. Colley, *Victorians in the Mountains: Sinking the Sublime* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 18.

[3] Miss Jemima [Morrell], *Miss Jemima's Swiss Journal: The First Conducted Tour of Switzerland* (London: Putnam, 1963). This chapter will refer to this more recent edition of the book, cited above.) To celebrate both the 100th and 150th anniversaries of Morrell's journey, her

On its lively pages, we can observe what was set in motion when the works of canonical guidebook writers and literary travelers such as Lord Byron, William Wordsworth, John Murray III, and John Ruskin fell into the hands of a female, middle-class tourist born in the midst of the boom of mass tourism in Victorian England. In her journal, Morrell pays homage to these writers—all of whom preferred that tourists of her ilk stay home—while remaining keen to the fact that her mid-summer vacation represented a different form of travel than that which her famous literary predecessors had accounted for in their writings.

Morrell's journey began on June 25, 1863 in London, where she and five companions—her cousin Sarah, her brother, prominent Selby banker William Wilberforce Morrell (1837-1904),[4] his friend Tom, and two of their Yorkshire friends named Eliza and Mary—convened at Shirley's Temperance Hotel in Bloomsbury to discuss the logistics of their tour.[5] The group dubbed itself the "Junior United Alpine

descendants retraced their ancestor's route in the Alps. The 150th anniversary of her trip inspired a local Yorkshire tour company, Inntravel ("The Slow-Holiday People"), to design a pre-packaged tour that followed Morrell's itinerary.

[4] William Wilberforce Morrell (1837-1904) created a fascinating "Scrapbook of English and European Architecture," now digitized by the University of York. It consists mainly of 112 pages of photographs of British and Continental buildings, and it concludes with an image of his mother's tombstone. He also authored a book about the history of Selby, which was illustrated by his sister Jemima. See *The History and Antiquities of Selby in West Riding in the County of York* (London: Whittaker and Co., 1867).

[5] During the trip's leg from Geneva to Chamonix, the group acquired a seventh member: a young man named James who had been left behind by Cook's group at the inn in Geneva. James

Club" (henceforth the "JUAC") in a wry reference to the famous Alpine Club established in London six years earlier, knowing full well that its coed, middle-class membership hardly resembled that elite group of Oxbridge mountaineers. The influential Alpine Club, made famous by the journal it inaugurated in 1859 (*Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers* is still in print today as the *Alpine Journal)*, included legendary mountaineers John Ball (1818-1889), Thomas Woodbine Hinchliff (1825-1882), and E.S. Kennedy (1817-1898) as well as literary champions of Alpinism such as John Ruskin, Matthew Arnold (1822-1888), and Leslie Stephen (1832-1904).[6] Though the JUAC members certainly lacked the gear and impressive credentials of the famous mountaineering heroes, their ambitious Alpine itinerary took them along some of the very same paths hiked by their celebrated predecessors.

By riding steamers, trains, carriages, and stage coaches, and walking up to twenty miles a day on foot, the JUAC defied the council of nearly all nineteenth-century guidebook writers in both pace and style of traveling to the Continent. John Chetwode Eustace would never have been able to imagine the JUAC's abridged trip abroad. In his *Classical Tour,* he had advised readers: "a year, I think, is the shortest space that ought

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quickly caught up to Cook's three coaches in via carriage and frightened the other passengers when he asked for a seat in the JUAC'S vehicle. At the next "general meeting" of the club, they elected him as a "corresponding member" (21). Morrell does not give the last names for Sarah, Tom, Eliza, and Mary.

[6] See "History of the Alpine Journal," *Alpine Journal*, accessed March 24, 2014,

http://www.alpinejournal.org.uk/Background/AJHistory.html.

to be allotted, and a year and a half or even two years might be well devoted."[7] Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* (1861), used by Morrell and her companions, warns against rushing to see all of the sights, remarking that "those who desire real and thorough enjoyment in travelling" must "abstain from doing all that can be done in the time at their disposal."[8] It also notes that "excursions rather too difficult and fatiguing for delicate ladies are given in italics" before listing an itinerary that resembles that which Morrell followed.[9]

The JUAC's itinerary brought the group members quickly to Geneva by way of Paris. They would spend nearly two weeks climbing Swiss peaks and staying in small

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[7] John Chetwode Eustace, *Tour through Italy, Exhibiting a View of Its Scenery, Its Antiques, and Its Monuments; Particularly as They Are Objects of Classical Interest and Elucidation: With An Account of the Present State of Its Cities and Towns; and Occasional Observations on the Recent Spoliations of the French*, 2 vols. (London: J. Mawman, 1813), 1:xxxviii.

[8] [John Murray III and William Brockedon], *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland*, 9th ed. (London: John Murray, 1838), xii. John Murray III (1808-1892) and his friend, artist and mountaineer William Brockedon (1787-1854), co-authored the first edition (1838) of the *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* (see chapter two for more information). The ninth edition, referenced here and throughout this chapter, was based on the seventh edition edition which had been revised by the Reverend Charles Marett (1813-1904). For information about the history of editions of Murray's handbook series, see W. B. C. Lister, Murray's *Handbooks for Travellers* (Lanham, MD: University Publications of America, 1993). For more information about Charles Marett, see F. de L. Bois, *The Parish Church of St. Saviour, Jersey* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co, 1976).

[9] [Murray and Brockedon], *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland*, xiv.

Alpine towns such as Leukerbad, Interlaken, and Lucerne before circling back and visiting Paris for four days. Morrell arrived in Switzerland assuming that, as the home of John Calvin, Geneva would be a bastion of proper Protestant decorum filled with people who were commitment to solemn religious observance. Her expectations were dashed when she found that her Sabbath in Geneva was far more festive than expected, and this letdown tainted her perspective on Continental religious customs for the duration of her voyage. Morrell's journal is striking thereafter because of the degree to which it expresses considerable intolerance toward Protestant Switzerland. In many ways, her journal confirms Eustace's worst fears about touristic prejudice, for in Morrell's eager retelling of the group's exploits in general, and its disrespectfulness toward Catholic sites in particular, she shows that her perspective of the tour is indelibly colored by bigotry and prejudice. Her approach to foreign religious customs also neatly confirms the cynical wisdom displayed by Murray III when he replaced Palgrave with G. B. Maule and championed Richard Ford, who advanced anti-Catholic prejudices. Despite Morrell's deep familiarity with Ruskin (whom she references four times), his admonitions against "modern prejudice" in *The Stones of Venice* were no match for her inclination to ridicule what she perceived as exotic religious spectacles during two Sundays in Switzerland and one in Paris.[10]

The ninth edition of Murray's Swiss handbook, used by Morrell and her companions, did little to discourage their suspicions about foreign claims to superiority. If anything, it encourages them, warning that the "democratic principle," the "political

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[10] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice, The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. (London: George Allen, 1903-12), 10:128-29.

equality," and the "religious tolerance and harmony" for which Switzerland is praised

are no more than a myth. As evidence, the handbook cites "the degraded condition of

the people, morally as well as physically" as proof of the country's failure to deserve its

honorable reputation, "even down to the present day."[11] Though this particular

handbook says much less on the subject of churches and religious art than other

volumes in the series, it does warn its implied Protestant readers about the dangers of

being a religious minority while abroad, noting that Protestants and Roman Catholics

treat each other with nothing more than a "nominal tolerance," and that the "old

mountain cantons"—the Swiss states through which the JUAC would travel—are "all

catholic" and "entirely subjected to their priests; generally very poor, and with a

tendency to oppress their protestant fellow citizens."[12] The handbook also mentions that

an 1847 uprising of Protestants in those cantons was "put down . . . by force, not without

bloodshed."[13] This particular paragraph, buried inconspicuously between introductory

sections on "Precautions for Health" and "Alpine Passes," seems like it would have

appealed to a tourist such as Morrell, who remarks in her June 28 entry—her first

Sunday in Switzerland—that the "characteristics of a Continental Sabbath" are "painful

enough to English eyes."[14]

 Nearly every single religious practice or tradition Morrell witnesses in

Switzerland and France confirms her belief in the superior virtues of religion in

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[11] Morrell, *Journal.*, xliii.

[12] Ibid., xliv.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Morrell, *Journal*, 13.

England. Under her gaze, distinctions between pre- and post-Reformation denominations blur, and all assume a distinctly un-English appearance. As she exclaims in that same Sunday journal entry quoted above: "Yes, we were really in Geneva, that tried citadel of Protestantism! That empire of Calvin . . . and that centre towards which in times of religious convulsion the hearts and eyes of all Christendom had turned with fear or expectancy."[15] Here, Morrell nearly delights in Geneva's failure to live up to its pious reputation, and throughout the journal, with an amused and even titillated horror, recounts the myriad ways foreign religious practices confirm their inferiority at every turn. Morrell's lively, enthusiastic, and condescendingly humorous treatment of Swiss and French religious practices often overshadows the ostensible purpose of the JUAC's trip in the journal, which was to hike the Alps and enjoy the vistas so famously celebrated by the iconic British tourists who came before them. In this manner, Morrell's journal endorses the argument of this dissertation: that religion endured as a singular fixation of Victorian tourism.

Morrell's opportunity to experience the religious idiosyncrasies of Alpine and French religion came about as a secondary consequence of her participation in a touristic tradition that had long been inaccessible to people like her. In her tour, one can see that the Thomas Cook agency did for the logistics of Continental travel what the Murray and Baedeker handbooks had done for cultural education in the decades leading up to Morrell's journey–Cook's cheap tickets and group rates made Continental travel accessible in the same way that guidebooks summarized for tourists what may have once

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[15] Ibid., 14.

been garnered only from an elite education and a network of savvy contacts.[16] The chapter will begin by situating the JUAC's journey within the historical context of Alpine tourism, by Morrell's time within the reach of middle-class tourists because of advancements in transport technology and economic conditions that enabled Cook to purchase tickets in bulk from rail and boat companies at a reduced rate. This chapter will examine Cook's business practices in further detail and contextualize Morrell's journey with this brilliant entrepreneur within the tradition of British Alpine tourism. The discussion will then examine the ways in which Morrell's affection for the Gothic romance, with its characteristically grotesque depictions of Catholic exoticism, structured how she experienced Swiss and French culture and influenced how she represented them in her journal.

Unlike so many writers examined by this dissertation, Morrell appears unashamed of bearing the tourist label abroad because a distinctly English, Protestant superiority colors her interpretations of the sites she and the club visited. On the pages of her journal, one sees a new, pro-tourist mode of writing emerge that ignored the admonitions of the guidebook writers who recommended male, solitary travel. Instead, she exploits her guidebooks' erudition and authoritative research to ensure that the itinerary would be at once satisfying and edifying. Though guidebooks' criticism of mass tourism worked against Morrell, they confirmed English superiority at every opportunity–a cause in which she could share. Murray III had thoroughly excised voices that encouraged appreciation of Roman Catholic architecture and history—such as those

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[16] R. Steinitz, *Time, Space, and Gender in the Nineteenth-Century British Diary* (New York: Springer, 2011), 143.

of Eustace and Sir Francis Palgrave—and Ruskin's acerbic remonstrations about appreciating craftsmanship and cultural history seemed beside the point in the Alps. Once Geneva failed to live up to Morrell's standards, she could share in the guidebooks' cynicism about the country even if she could not meet its standards as an ideal traveler.

After examining Morrell's historical significance as one of the Continent's first commercial-group travelers, the chapter will turn to analyze the foundation upon which Morrell's religious philosophy lies: a belief in the superiority of English Protestantism and the corrupting power of Continental irreligion. The group's initial stay in Geneva, home of Calvin, convinces Morrell that this iconic Protestant's doctrine of propriety and restraint had lost its influence over the Swiss; she appears both disappointed by this fall and also pleased for the opportunity to affirm the superiority of English religious virtues. The group's stop in Geneva sets the tone for the Alpine ascent since from that point forward, Morrell's encounters with both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism only help to prove the inferiority of Continental religion. The chapter will examine three of these occasions. In the first, Morrell and her companions make their way to a chapel in Kussnacht, at the foot of the Rigi (a 5,900-foot mountain in central Switzerland). The chapel is filled with skulls, scenes from purgatory, and other grotesqueries that inspire in the JUAC neither interest in local customs nor respect for apparently sacred iconography. Next, we follow as the female members of JUAC explore an old convent outside of Interlaken. The women cruise the halls and galleries of the old building in a grandiose reenactment of scene from a favorite novel by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882) entitled *Hyperion: A Romance* (1839). A groundskeeper catches them mid-performance and the women find it more remarkable that he does not recognize the scene than that they have caused any sort of disturbance. Finally, in Paris, during the

last Sunday of the tour, Morrell and her brother disturb a service at Notre Dame de Paris and get expelled from the historic cathedral.

With frequent reminders of her inferiority—by both her second- and third-class travel accommodations and the snobbish sentiments of her guidebook writers—it follows that in belittling and even desecrating Continental religious customs, Morrell gains agency over the spaces in which she travels. Having affirmed the superiority of her own national religious tradition immediately upon arrival in Switzerland, the foreign terrain becomes a space of increased license for Morrell and her sober friends, and disrespecting and desecrating Roman Catholic sites does not conflict with their morals because they see the religion as so degraded in the first place. In the journal, it is clear that using the scenery as a staging ground for Gothic-romance reenactments is just another way to exploit it for personal entertainment. Morrell's preference for her own religious tradition–one which is distinctly English—and her intolerance of all others proves that the exoticizing eye of someone like Ford would surely be more appealing than the tempered advocacy of Eustace, Palgrave, and Ruskin (who late in his career took a great deal of obvious pleasure in scolding travelers such as her).

Mountaineering and Mass Travel

Although Cook's 1863 Swiss package was one of the first to bring British tourists in a group to the Alps, a generation of middle-class British tourists had already trained their eyes toward the sublime Swiss passes. Despite their popularity, however, Alpine passes were still dangerous in the 1860s, and for many years, only skilled mountaineers (such as the climbers of the Alpine Club) and those who could afford expensive guides could ascend the highest peaks. Even for the JUAC, scaling the Rigi on July 8—the

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climax of the trip—was an estimable accomplishment that would only lose its cachet when its funicular opened in 1871.[17] Difficulty did not necessarily stem the tide of visitors, however. Although it is hard to find useful statistics that directly confirm the increasing popularity of the region, when Byron stayed in a lodge near the Rigi pass in 1816, only 294 people signed its guest book that year; by 1870, 40,000 annual visitors had climbed the Rigi summit; and by 1874, with the assistance of the funicular, 104,000 had ascended.[18] The guidebook publishing industry certainly benefitted from this popularity (and assisted in creating it) as well: between 1838 and 1874, the Murray firm sold 44,250 copies of the *Handbook to Switzerland*.[19]

Old guard aficionados made no secret of their contempt for the amateur tourism rendered possible by Cook's group-travel model–though it should also be noted that complaining about fellow British tourists abroad was a tradition at least two-hundred-years old by the time the Alpine Club and the JUAC were traveling to Switzerland.[20] In Leslie Stephen's famous mountaineering memoir, *The Playground of Europe* (1871), he laments the changes wrought by increased tourism in the Alps: "Innumerable tourists

[17] Colley, *Victorians in the Mountains*, 24.

[18] Jan Palmowski, "Travels with Baedeker: The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian Britain," in *Histories of Leisure,* ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002), 115.

[19] Ibid., 114.

[20] Earl of Chichester, April 1777: "Rome has too great a resemblance with Brighthelmstone [Brighton]." Thomas Brand (1719-1804), 1783: "I mean to be at Rome Decr. the 1st. There is such a shoal of English upon the road thither that 'the like was never known'!" See Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003): 9, 11.

have done all that tourists can do to cocknify (if that is the right derivative from cockney) the scenery."[21] The fact that the "innumerable tourists" come from an inferior classes appears more offensive to Stephen than the size of the crowds. He decries tourists' behavior as well, stating that these degraded classes pollute the "imperishable majesty" of the Alps with their "sandwich-papers and empty bottles" and their "taint of vulgarity."[22] Stephen characterizes all the tourists as "cockney," reducing them to a singular type of "born Londoner" who is, according to the OED, "supposed to be inferior to other English people."[23] His parenthetical claim that he is unfamiliar with how to manipulate the word "cockney" might even strike a note of protesting too much. Stephen's contempt for Alpine tourists is both inaccurate (Morrell and her friends were not even remotely identifiable as cockney) and snobbish. Yet even if Morrell belonged to the group that Stephen generalized about, it is noticeably the case that Morrell herself is hardly immune from mirroring Stephen's sentiments when, in her journal, she too complains of the "tide of English tourists pouring in from the Rhine" upon her own arrival at Olten, Switzerland.[24]

However influential Stephen may have been upon the practice of Swiss mountaineering, his complaints did nothing to stem the tide of amateur Alpinism. Just like John Gibson Lockhart's famous 1817 designation of a "Cockney School" of poets in

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[21] Leslie Stephen, *The Playground of Europe* (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1871), 273.

[22] Stephen, *Playground*, 273.

[23] "cockney, 4a," *OED Online*, March 2016,

http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/35467?rskey=tVZJwZ&result=1#eid.

[24] Morrell, *Journal,* 90.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine gave its targets a title to appropriate for themselves with subversive pride, Morrell took pleasure in the fact that her group succeeded in the face of such class snobbery.[25] After all, the JUAC climbed the Alps without the resources available to their elitist counterparts–a fact that Morrell did not fail to note. When describing her encounter with someone from what she calls "the other Alpine Club" on a glacier outside Grindelwald, Morrell dryly explains how that "stalwart member . . . in climbing costume, *en route* for the Jungfrau" was "attended by two guides bearing provisions, faggots, rugs and appliances for a night on the snow."[26] Stephen may have believed that he and his ilk deserved privileged access to the "imperishable majesty" of the Alps, but, as Morrell points out here, his club's style of travel relied heavily on gear, multiple guides, costume, and—inexplicably—rugs. Her coed, minimally equipped cadre meanwhile climbed the same passes without these amenities and in doing so invalidated any claim that only the elite could climb the Swiss Alps.[27]

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[25] See [John Gibson Lockhart], "On the Cockney School of Poetry," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 2:7 (October 1817): 38-40. The article specifically names writer and publisher Leigh Hunt (1784-1859) as the "chief Doctor and Professor" of the Cockney School. Lockhart derides Hunt for knowing "absolutely nothing of Greek, almost nothing of Latin" and for championing other writers who share similar educational deficits. John Keats (1795-1821) and William Hazlitt (1778-1830), though unnamed in the famous article, were the two most famous writers associated with Hunt at this time.

[26] Morrell, *Journal*, 68.

[27] A "Ladies' Alpine Club" eventually formed in 1909. See Colley, *Victorians in the Mountains*, 116.

Despite Morrell and her friends' fitness for Alpine travel, guidebooks that catered

to them—with their explicit packing lists and detailed advice about routes—also shared

with Stephen a preconception that groups like the JUAC were inappropriate Alpine

tourists. For instance, the Baedeker company's first *Switzerland* guidebook (also its very

first ever guidebook in English), published in the same year as the JUAC's journey and

referenced (and plagiarized) by Morrell throughout her journal, [28] warns that when

traveling in Switzerland, "companionship of more than two is frequently attended with

inconvenience."[29] This warning appeared in print, however, in the very same year that

Cook's bulk-purchasing power made the journey more affordable. Undeterred by

discouraging guidebook rhetoric, Morrell populated her journal with quotations from

[28] Jan Palmowski, "Travels with Baedeker: The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian
and Edwardian Britain," in *Histories of Leisure,* ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg Publishers,
2002), 105-30. In her comprehensive chapter about the complex relationship between traveling
middle-class Britons and their guidebooks, Palmowski describes how even though travel
journals like Morrell's are "tedious for their plagiarism of the Murray," they importantly
document an "experience of independence" that "contributed to the changing role of women and
their greater freedom of maneuver within the family before 1914" (116-17). Palmowski's chapter
lists one instance where Morrell has directly plagiarized and three where she has been given "the
impetus to observe and form an impression" from guidebooks (110).

[29] Karl Baedeker began publishing German-language guidebooks in the 1820s, but did not begin
to publish in English until the 1860s. His first volume, in fact, was the very one that Morrell and
her companions used in 1863. See *Switzerland with the Neighboring Lakes of Northern Italy,
Savoy, and the Adjacent Districts of Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Tyrol: Handbook for
Travellers*, ed. Karl Baedeker (Coblenz: Karl Baedeker, 1863), xv.

her literary predecessors who did not necessarily anticipate her sort upon their road, and she loyally directed her gaze where the Murray and Baedeker guides advised her to look. The journal synthesizes information provided by these predecessors with the convenience and unglamorous expediency of a Cook tour, whose promise of "cheap tickets to Mont Blanc" inspired the group to travel in the first place.[30]

The first Baedeker handbook to Switzerland also laments the effects of the rise of mass travel–the very phenomenon that created a market for it in the first place. Its preface characterizes tourists in Switzerland as an "enormous army which… annually invades these mountain regions."[31] The guide articulates that its explicit purpose is

> to render the traveler as independent as possible of the extraneous services of guides, domestiques de place, voituriers and inn-keepers, and enable him to realize to the fullest extent the exquisite and rational enjoyment of which this magnificent country is the fruitful source.[32]

According to this philosophy, employing the services of a local guide diminishes one's credibility as a tourist; the mark of a worthy traveler, then, is the ability to navigate the foreign environment unencumbered by human assistance (though a guidebook is apparently acceptable).

Murray's Swiss handbook also discourages the frenetic pace that would be employed by Cook's tourists—there are very few days during which Morrell and her companions arise later than five o'clock in the morning—when it reminds readers that

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[30] Qtd. in Morrell, *Journal*, xiii.

[31] Baedeker, *Switzerland*, iv.

[32] Ibid., viii.

the grandest scenes of nature cannot be fully apprehended at a glance, and the impression which will be retained of sublime objects seen repeatedly, and under varying conditions of weather and light, will be far more prized than the crowd of imperfect images that can alone be carried away by a weary traveller in the course of an always hurried advance from one place to another.[33]

By encouraging tourists to slow down, Murray's author neglects and thus obliquely criticizes middle-class tourists who cannot afford to travel in so leisurely a fashion. According to Murray, sights seen "at a glance" offer "imperfect images" and are therefore less valuable. On the first pages of her journal, however, Morrell emphasizes "the difficulty of making a ten-days' holiday" for her friends, but they make the sacrifices necessary nevertheless.[34] It is clear that in order to use the advice provided by her Baedeker and Murray handbooks, Morrell had to ignore such discouraging passages.

Guidebook rhetoric declaiming mass travel in the 1860s is evidence that publishers had not yet anticipated the needs of a new clientele that was being sent abroad in ever-increasing numbers thanks, in large part, to Cook's innovative business strategies. The young Baptist from Derbyshire started his travel business in 1841 when he sent 500 fellow Temperance Society members on a twelve-mile train ride from Leicester to Loughborough to meet and celebrate with their fellow teetotalers.[35] Cook

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[33] [Murray and Brockedon], *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland*, xii.

[34] Morrell, *Journal*, xiii.

[35] The temperance movement, started in the United Kingdom in the 1820s, had a close association with the Chartist Movement and its efforts to associate the working classes with virtue in order to promote voting rights. The movement was not confined to particular Christian

was inspired when, in his own words, "a thought flashed through my brain—what a glorious thing it would be if the newly developed power of steam railways and locomotion could be made subservient to the promotion of Temperance."[36] At the time, the nascent train industry struggled to sell enough seats in their passenger cars to make

denominations. See Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in Victorian England 1815-1872* (Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 1994). Temperance was also intimately connected with Victorian tourism, given its early affiliation with Thomas Cook. Many members of the Morrell family of Selby, Yorkshire were deeply involved in their local temperance organization. William Wilberforce Morrell's *History and Antiquities of Selby* documents the founding of the "Selby Temperance Society" in 1833, which had been replaced by the "Total Abstinence Society." William Morrell notes that at the time of the book's publication in 1867, the club boasted a membership of "650 adults, and about 250 juveniles in connection with it." He also notes that his older brother Robert was currently one of the club's two secretaries. See *The History and Antiquities of Selby in West Riding in the County of York* (London: Whittaker and Co., 1867), 293. The city of Selby had become a noteworthy center for the temperance movement in the decades preceding the JUAC's tour. A September 1851 issue of the *Bristol Temperance Herald* described a meeting held a week earlier—presided over by a "Mr. Morrell"—which had been "interrupted by a poor besotted drunkard, who once moved in a respectable sphere, and who, but for strong drink, might now have been an influential member of a respectable profession." The article concludes by noting that "The temperance cause has got a firm hold in the town of Selby." See "Selby," *Bristol Temperance Herald* 15:9 (September 1851): 142.

[36] Edmund Swinglehurst, *Cook's Tours: The Story of Popular Travel* (New York: Blandford Press, 1982), 7.

a profit.[37] Confident that he could fill entire passenger cars if rail companies agreed to front money for promotional materials, Cook made them an offer that proved to be of mutual benefit. Although Cook's ostensible ideological mission (temperance) prompted, and perhaps helped him to justify, aggressive sales techniques (including late nights spent plastering towns with his advertisements), within two years his market reached well beyond the temperance societies. He realized that the idea of the pre-packaged tour, when promoted as both "cheap" and educational, would sell "on the strength of its interest, its value and the standing of his own name."[38] By 1851, an estimated 140,000 people found their way to the Great Exhibition using tickets that Cook sold to them–a massive achievement that to this day is often cited as the start of mass tourism in England.[39]

On the basis of the company's success at the Great Exhibition, Cook began to create and market international travel packages.[40] Touring in a group with the Cook company in the 1860s meant that the agency would plan a route in advance; make arrangements with rail companies, carriage and coach services, and steamships; and

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[37] Ibid., 9.

[38] Ibid., 15.

[39] Ibid., 23. For more on the importance of this event, see Lisa Picard, *Victorian London: The Tale of a City 1840-1870* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2014), 37.

[40] Eric G. E. Zuelow, *Touring Beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European Tourism History* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 80.

then charge clients a set fee.[41] On the morning of June 26, 1863, the JUAC met Cook

himself along with approximately 120 other tourists at the London Bridge Station to

begin their journey to the Continent. With Cook, they boarded the train to Newhaven,

rode a steamer to Dieppe, journeyed through France by rail and coach, and finally

arrived at their hotel in Paris late in the night. Of the initial group of 120 passengers who

traveled with Cook to France, only sixty continued on with him on into the Alps–a group

that included Morrell and the rest of the JUAC. In contrast with group tours today,

Cook's sixty would-be mountaineers would not have slept in the same inns every night,

nor would they share a daily itinerary; instead, members of the group collided

occasionally at famous sights and reconvened at pre-determined stations along the route

in order to proceed to the next important hub of the journey. Occasional references to

fellow tourists and glimpses of Cook himself throughout the journal remind us that

Morrell and her friends were among several dozen members of a large party, even

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[41] Morrell's family has preserved her travel documents, including her Cook tickets, in a family

archive. Because 2013 was the 150th anniversary of the trip, many articles about her journey

were published in both Yorkshire-based publications as well as major national English news

publications. The *York Press* sent a reporter to descendent John Morrell's home where he

showed her Morrell's "small, leather-bound, green booklet with the words 'Cook's Tourist

Ticket,' embossed in gold on the front. See Maxine Gordon, "The Victorian Lady who Scaled the

Swiss Peaks with Thomas Cook," *The York Press*, accessed November 10, 2013,

http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/features/features/10378600.The_Victorian_lady_who_scaled_th

e_Swiss_peaks_with_Thomas_Cook/.

though the daily events of the trip do not occur in the company of other members of Cook's group.[42]

The night before joining Cook on the platform at the London Bridge Station, Morrell's brother William offered the group a solemn reminder of their second-class status when he told them he had already given "Mr. Cook" 680 *francs* for the tickets.[43] This statement created "profound silence" among the group members and consequently inspired them to lighten their suitcases "considerably"–an act of sacrifice that would relieve them of having to hire porters. In discussing the finances of the group, Morrell's brother was serving in his capacity as the "Paymaster." Like William, all members of the group were jokingly assigned roles for the journey. For instance, as listed in the *Dramatis Personae* of the journal, Morrell was dubbed the "Artist," Sarah the "Continental Traveller" (for her past experience touring abroad), and Mary was the "French Interpreter."[44] Although these ceremonial roles formed part of the group's burlesque of the original Alpine Club, assigning the hassle of dealing with budgeting and

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[42] See [Sir Francis Palgrave], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (London: John Murray, 1842), xiii for an example of explicitly gendering the tourist. In a section on "Modes of Travelling," Palgrave describes the process of hiring a *vetturino* (coachman): "These are usually natives; and it is a mode of journeying which can only suit a single male traveler, and even he, must be one who is not very particular as to comforts."

[43] According to Diccon Bewes, Cook spent £10 8s 1d (approximately £765 or $1,100 today) on the roundtrip tickets for London–Geneva–Chamonix–Interlaken–Bern. The total cost of the trip was £17 0s 1d (approximately £1,300 or $1,870 today). See Bewes, *Slow Train to Switzerland* (London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing, 2013), 288.

[44] Morrell, *Journal*, xi.

costs to William meant that these details could remain largely invisible to the other group members. Shifting the burden of worrying about money to one member of the group inured the rest of them from constant awareness of their modest means and helped to foster an illusion of genteel travel.

It was not always possible for the JUAC to sustain an illusion of leisureliness as they travelled, however. In describing the first leg of their journey, Morrell concedes that "humiliation was rather the dominant virtue exercised in that voyage across the Channel, which in justice we must record was in very good humour."[45] After taking a train to Newhaven and boarding the steamer for Dieppe, "humiliation" inspired certain group members to act in their official capacities. Physical hardship on the boat, for instance, led Eliza to serve in her capacity as "Hon. Physician to the Expedition (Allopathic)" and administer relief to seasick fellow-travelers.[46] Tom, the other "Honorable Physician" of the group ("homeopathic" rather than "allopathic"), was too busy being seasick himself to assist Eliza. (Morrell jokes that "Pandora had overturned her box of woes" on Tom. [47]) In Morrell's humorous account of the Channel crossing,

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[45] Ibid., 7. Compare this with Dickens: "I shall never forget the one-fourth serious and three-fourths comical astonishment, with which, on the morning of the third of January eighteen-hundred-and-forty-two, I opened the door of, and put my head into, a 'state-room' on board the Britannia steam- packet, twelve hundred tons burthen per register, bound for Halifax and Boston, and carrying Her Majesty's mails." Dickens, *American Notes and Pictures from Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 1.

[46] Morrell, *Journal*, xi.

[47] Ibid., 6.

one discerns the strategy she deploys later on when she remarks on the religious sites that are either too dilapidated or inexplicably Catholic for her to characterize as dignified: she deploys a sharp sarcasm that obfuscates any misunderstanding or vulnerability on her part. For instance, her accommodations on board the ship were decidedly non-prestigious, so in representing them in her journal, she turns the episode into a burlesque: "The swells being in the fore cabin, we were driven to criticising those in the aft; who, but for the redeeming presence of members of the Club, would have been on the whole, voted second class in more senses than one."[48] Here, Morrell makes a rare pun: "swells" are both large waves and the wealthier people who paid for the better tickets.[49] This description also reveals, albeit humorously, that Morrell considers herself and her friends to be superior to the other passengers sharing their second-class accommodations on board–after all, her friend is magnanimously engaged in charity work by providing comfort to all the sick passengers.

Morrell copes with the "humiliation" of discomfort through ridicule, going so far as to make a game of observing her fellow passengers so she can "find foreign employment" for her mind in order to "keep the disagreeable at bay."[50] Throughout the journal, she projects familiar literary characters and narratives onto strange situations

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[48] Ibid., 6.

[49] See "swell, 9a," *OED Online*, March 2016, "cockney, 4a," *OED Online*, March 2016, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/195716?rskey=OsdTMZ&result=1#eid: "A fashionably or stylishly dressed person; hence, a person of good social position, a highly distinguished person." This term was particular to nineteenth-century usage.

[50] Morrell, *Journal*, 5.

in order to make them legible and familiar. On board, for instance, she makes guesses about the lives of the other passengers–a strategy she calls seeking "abstraction…in speculating on the probable antecedents of our fellow voyagers (as to what they might, could, would or should have been)": one man has ugly eyes, one man is very fat, and one man has a very red face.[51] The only person who emerges as attractive on the entire ship is Eliza, though Morrell does not hold back from mocking Eliza's officiousness in helping the sick and distributing food.

> One particular sight inspires a more literary reverie:
>
> Yes, those two brown-hatted ladies sitting opposite, on the shady side of fifty, do not their features tell of endurance and patience? The eldest is a second "Johanna Leaf" but the second neither a complaining "Selina" or a hopeful "Hilary". Can you not picture their very home? Thrifty but faded, where committees of ways and means are often held on expenditure, and where even the falling off of but one pupil materially affects the finances. [52]

Morrell names the women after characters from *Mistress and Maid* (1862), a popular novel by Dinah Maria Mulock Craik (1826-1887) that describes relationships between members of different social classes. Imagining the couple's "committees of ways and means" making major financial decisions about décor, Morrell derides the women's apparent need for parsimony. Just like the mock-ennobling rituals of the JUAC humorously bestow a patina of grandeur on the club's inexpensive trip, the obvious

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[51] Ibid.

[52] These names are references to Dinah Maria Mulock Craik's 1862 novel *Mistress & Maid* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1862). See Morrell, *Journal,* 6.

efforts made by this pair of women remind Morrell of financial constraints of her own. Her speculations about their number of "pupils" emblematizes the economic anxiety felt by Morrell herself, even though here she appears to project these anxieties onto other women.

Calvin in Retrospect

Morrell's humor and mock-formality—even when aimed at undeserving victims— serves to offset embarrassment about reduced means and discomfort. One of the areas in which Morrell clearly did not anticipate discomfort or misunderstanding, however, was in her encounter with Swiss Calvinism. Recounting events from the first Sunday of their expedition (July 28, 1863), Morrell voices her enthusiasm at seeing Geneva for the first time. She begins by populating the city with figures from Protestant history:

> That empire of Calvin . . . the refuge of Knox, the Vaudois, and the home of Beza
>
> and D'Aubingné and that centre towards which in times of religious convulsion
>
> the hearts and eyes of all Christendom had turned with fear or expectancy.[53]

Morrell's' prior knowledge of Geneva apparently prepared her poorly for the "characteristics of a Continental Sabbath" that proved so "painful" to her "English

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[53] Morrell, *Journal*, 14. John Knox (1513-1572) led the Protestant Reformation in Scotland and founded Presbyterianism; Theodore Beza (1519-1604) was a French Protestant theologian who served as Calvin's assistant; and Jean-Henri Merle d'Aubigné (1794-1872) wrote histories of the Reformation. See d'Aubigné, *History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1875).

eyes."[54] During this first of three Sundays abroad, the Calvinists she observes in Geneva

challenge her preconceptions about how people living in the so-called "citadel" should

behave on the day reserved for worship.[55] For instance, she observes with disdain

numerous opulent "pleasure boats" adorned with "Latin goose-wing sails" floating in

front of the Jardin Anglais.[56] Later that afternoon, Morrell is disappointed to find that

so many of the "loitering" Swiss women do not even know how to guide the group to

Calvin's house.[57] The Sabbath events on the Boulevard de Plainpalais, where "tea,

gardens, dances and other entertainments had their crowded companies," strike her as

inappropriate for the occasion.[58] Toward the end of the day, the "concert booths and

strolling players, the merry-go-rounds and similar amusements" thwart the group's

somber attempt to walk to the outskirts of Geneva to find the intersection of the Rhône

and Arve rivers.[59]

Geneva was obviously not the "citadel" of sobriety that Morrell had expected, and

in concluding her journal entry from that date, she likens it to that famous Old

Testament city of Babylon, featured in a parable about chaos, hubris, and irreligion in

the Book of Genesis: a "polyglot of characters surely not less vivid than those of

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[54] Morrell, *Journal,* 13.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., 14.

[57] Ibid., 16.

[58] Ibid., 17.

[59] Ibid.

Chaldaeic form that caused the knees of Babylon's monarch to tremble."[60] This inaugural experience of her Swiss tour prepares Morrell to treat Continental religion—even Protestant religion—with disdain, and she characterizes the pain she experiences upon witnessing the vulgarities of the Continental Sabbath as distinctly English. Moreover, by demonstrating her familiarity with Protestant history, Morrell establishes her credibility as a suitable judge of religious decorum. In her dissatisfaction with Continental religious observances, she aligns herself with Calvin, Knox, and other noble bastions of sobriety and propriety, and she also makes a case for the fitness of British Protestantism in particular to uphold the traditions of these noble forefathers.

Morrell would be only somewhat relieved one week later when she has the opportunity to spend her Sabbath with fellow British worshippers at an Anglican service in Interlaken–a small city in the Alps that served as a central hub for Alpine travelers. The local vicar, however, does not observe the sanctity of English Protestantism quite to Morrell's satisfaction: "The Sabbath at Interlacken, like other places on the Continent, seems to be kept as a weekly holiday, engrossing the activity of all pleasure-seekers."[61] After having been awakened by other hotel guests making "sounds most unsabbatical" (they were playing a game with wooden balls outside),[62] she and those of her companions who had not been seduced by the "sunny somnolence" of the holiday atmosphere attend a service given by a man she nicknames "Reverend Little Grace,"—a figure so noteworthy in the trip that he earns the antepenultimate spot in her *Dramatis*

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[60] Ibid.*,* 18.

[61] Ibid., 59.

[62] Ibid.

Personae.[63] The preacher's nickname derives from his maintenance of what Morrell considered to be an excessively low expectation about the reverence owed by worshippers to their god.[64]

In describing the church service itself, Morrell uses the first-person plural, as if speaking on behalf of all adequately observant congregants in attendance with her. She writes that "Revd. Little-grace's" service was "religion presented walking in silver slippers;" his doctrine "slightly too much in harmony with human nature to arouse the hearers to severe self-scrutiny."[65] The preacher's analgesic philosophy confirms what Morrell had already begun to believe: that Continental Protestantism was failing to curtail human buffoonery in Switzerland. It had even managed to dampen the potency of an Anglican service, such was its power. Although she disapproved of the anodyne religious doctrine promoted by Reverend Little Grace, Morrell appreciated the "charm" of the church, remarking that it was "refreshing" to "meet again with fellow countrymen and join them in prayer for dear old England, in the familiar language of home."[66] After all, it is likely that Morrell believed that the failure of Anglican doctrine in this instance was likely the fault of its proximity to irreligious Continental influences (such as the "sounds most unsabbatical" that had woken her up). In the Anglican haven provided by the service, Morrell's disapproval of the service matters less to her than the opportunity to experience a brief respite from the corruption of Continental culture.

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[63] Ibid., xi.

[64] Ibid., 59.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., 60.

Strange Dirty Little Place

By the time Morrell reached the Alps, she had already confirmed her belief that English religious practices were superior to those of the Continent—both Protestant and Roman Catholic—based on the failure of locals to be appropriately demure during their Sabbath holidays. While she even found little to commend in the Swiss approximation of an Anglican service she attended during her Sunday in Interlaken, she at least she took comfort in its familiar rituals and felt affection towards her fellow British travelers. In contrast, when she encountered scenes of Roman Catholic religiosity, she spared no mercy. In face of unaccountable sights in churches and ceremonies, Morrell resorts either to ridicule or quixotically rescripts the encounter to match familiar literary scenes. And as noted earlier in this dissertation, by the time of Morrell's tour, John Murray III had excised voices sympathetic to Roman Catholic customs from his handbooks, the apologetics of Eustace had long fallen out of favor, and Ruskin's aesthetic philosophy that celebrated earnest and devoted craftsmanship had not yet fully entered mainstream public discourse. Uninformed by the writings of these noble advocates of religious education and tolerance, and decidedly uninterested in challenging her own preconceptions about Continental religious practices anyway, Morrell's treatment of Roman Catholic sites ranges from humorous to egregiously bigoted in her journal.[67]

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[67] I do not intend to argue that Ruskin ever made a cause of religious tolerance, per se. As the third chapter argues, however, Ruskin encouraged an appreciation of the high-caliber of craftsmanship practiced by early-Christian artisans and worried that public ignorance and anti-

As indicated earlier, Morrell and the members of the JUAC traveled in a diminished style that was largely uncelebrated—and even looked down upon—by the handbooks and literary figures that inspired their trip. Conditions were less than comfortable, and the itinerary was physically demanding, but Morrell had a strategy for "keep[ing] the disagreeable at bay" by "find[ing] foreign employment" for her mind.[68] As indicated above, on board the steamship to Dieppe, she had entertained herself at the expense of fellow travelers whom she found unattractive by inventing amusing epithets about them and likening them to characters from fiction. Now firmly ensconced in utterly foreign territory, from which even a bad Anglican church service had offered what she considered to be a "refreshing" respite, Morrell's interpretations of utterly unfamiliar, exotic Roman Catholic sights took a sarcastic turn. Everything she had seen in the first week of the trip had confirmed her preconceptions about English religious superiority and affirmed the values she shared with her friends. Thus, mocking the Roman Catholics and their customs provided yet another opportunity both to confirm these prejudices as well as strengthen her ties of kinship and national pride. Facing the "disagreeable" or inexplicable, Morrell resorts to condescension and quixotism as a way to sort out the meaning—deprived as she was of the experience of reading the heroically tolerant insights of Eustace, Palgrave, and even Ruskin.[69]

Catholic sentiment threatened the safety and preservation of precious Medieval and Byzantine art and architecture.

[68] Morrell, *Journal,* 5.

[69] Morrell does cite Ruskin frequently throughout her journal, but only in reference to his rhapsodic descriptions of nature; after all, he was a member of the Alpine Club.

Morrell's understanding of Roman Catholic customs and architecture could best be likened to those of Catherine Morland, heroine of Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (1817). In Austen's novel, Morland has derived all her information about ancient Roman Catholic architecture, landscapes, and people from ideas gleaned from romance novels. She visits the abbey after which the novel is named and grows frustrated that, in its well-maintained Gothic features and cleanliness, it does not live up to her expectation that a Gothic building should mysterious, dangerous, and filled with the dreadful possibility of romantic entrapment. In a small Alpine church in Kussnacht, however, Morrell encounters a sight that even Morland would have found acceptably Gothic. On Thursday, July 9, the JUAC woke up at an inn at the summit of the Rigi and descended the mountain to catch a steamer in Kussnacht which would take them back to Lucerne. While waiting thirty minutes for their boat to arrive, they explored Knussnacht's chapel:

> What a strange little dirty place the chapel was! It had two doors so that you could walk across, having the altar on our left and the seats to our right. In a corner, near the door, was carelessly laid a heap of from twelve to eighteen human skulls. Behind the altar rails, on either hand were two wooden figures, representing men with wry faces in purgatorial flames. The altarpiece was a rude painting of a priest kneeling down beside tormented souls and praying for their release. The opposite end of the chapel was almost covered by a black banner, having a death's head and cross bones embroidered upon it in white.[70]

Half neglected tomb, half pirate's chamber, it is certainly difficult to imagine such a sight existed in Selby, the hometown of the JUAC. Morrell's tone is not one of fear,

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[70] Morrell, *Journal*, 88.

however, but rather of condescension and disgust–"what a strange little dirty place."

Her descriptors—"strange," "dirty," "carelessly," "rude"—all point to the primitivism of

the chapel's caretakers. Morrell softens the ubiquitous presence of death—"skulls,"

"purgatorial flames," "tormented souls," "death's head" and "cross bones"—with

derision and bemusement.

The mysterious provenance and meaning of the chapel inspires not only

confusion, but also mischief among the members of the JUAC:

> [U]ndoubtedly the greatest novelty in the church furniture was a small one-
>
> masted green boat, suspended by a rope from the roof of the Chancel. It was
>
> manned by wooden sailors who were supposed to be ferrying some poor soul
>
> from Kussnacht to somewhere. It was evidently a meritorious offering for some
>
> saint, for shipping and lake mercies, and now made honourable by its position.
>
> Oh! mischievous Mr. James, how dare you swing the hull of that sacred galley!
>
> For that pinched in every cracked door and hinge in Kussnacht![71]

With her mid-sentence exclamation point and her sudden shift into free indirect speech

as she recalls herself admonishing James for his mischief, Morrell celebrates rather than

condemns what amounts to nothing short of the desecration of the small chapel. Morrell

appears suspicious throughout the passage of the chapel's merits, mocking its

grotesqueries and even belittling its evident purpose, which is to solicit protection for

the local boatmen and merchants of the town. We can discern from Morrell's

exclamatory scolding that James had knocked about the hanging boat, and Morrell

recalls how they subsequently "fled from the boat oscillating before the altar to inspect

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[71] Ibid.

another piece of superstition in the graveyard—a shrine round which were hung rude wooden models of legs and feet of all sizes, placed there by those who supposed themselves to have received miraculous cures through its healing virtues."[72] The journal makes light of provincial superstition and ritual—the skulls, boat, and wooden legs are all safe targets for private ridicule during the group's brief interlude in Kussnacht. Morrell's celebration of her companion's mischief, however loosely she disguises it as an admonishment, and her condescending account of the chapel suggest that she has very little interest in learning anything substantive about the practices and customs of those whom she mocked.

In light of this passage above, it is clear why Richard Ford's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845) proved to be popular while Palgrave's *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1842) led to controversy. After all, the latter author—who hugely influenced Ruskin's aesthetic philosophy—followed in the tradition of travel guidance established by Eustace by elevating the status of Roman Catholic art and practices in his descriptions of Italy.[73] Ford, on the other hand, has this to say about Roman Catholicism as practiced in Spain:

> Spaniards, who, like the Moslem, allow themselves great latitude in laughing at monks, priests, and professors of religion, are very touchy as regards the articles of their creed: on these, therefore, beware of even sportive criticism. . . The whole nation, in religious matters, is divided only into two classes—bigoted Romanists or infidels: there is no via media. The very existence of the Bible is unknown to

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[72] Ibid., 88-89.

[73] See chapter two for greater detail about Palgrave's influence on Ruskin.

the vast majority, who, when convinced of the cheats put forth as religion, have

nothing better to fall back on but infidelity. They have no means of knowing the

truth; and even the better classes have not the moral courage to seek it: they are

afraid to examine the subject—they anticipate an unsatisfactory result, and

therefore leave it alone in dangerous indifferentism; and even with the most

liberal—with those who believe everything except the Bible—the term hereje

(heretic) still conveys an undefined feeling of horror and disgust which we

tolerant Protestants cannot understand. A Lutheran they scarcely believe to have

a soul, and almost think has a tail.[74]

In Ford's book, Spanish Catholics resemble Muslims more than they resemble

Protestants—they share with "the Orient and Islam . . . a kind of extrareal,

phenomenologically reduced status," as Edward W. Said so famously explained in

Orientalism.[75] Like the Orient and Islam, Spanish Catholics require the "refining fire of

the Orientalist's work," here Ford's *Handbook*, in order to be rendered legible to the

visitor.[76] In this particular scene, Morrell's *Journal* does not so much provide

refinement as it proves how illegible and impersonal a space like the Kussnacht chapel is

to the visitors.

The Longfellow Gothic

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[74] [Richard Ford], *Handbook for Travellers in Spain,* 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1845),

2:168.

[75] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1995), 283.

[76] Ibid.

To Morrell, the Gothic appears to be both a pastiche of the dark, cobwebbed spaces of confinement that appealed so strongly to Morland as well as a stylistic and religious tradition that existed in distinct opposition to the sober, moralistic, dry values of the Calvinist tradition that Morrell held in such high esteem. Gothic imagery also seems to have represented an exotic antithesis to the "dear old England" she enjoys in the Anglican service in Interlaken.[77] When Henry Tilney, Morland's love interest in *Northanger Abbey*, warns her about the dangers of romance novels, he also advises her to "remember the country and the age in which we live. Remember that we are English, that we are Christians."[78] This very same sort of anti-Gothic Englishness drives Morrell's condemnation of Continental religious practices, but is also the very thing that excites her and her friends about the sights that remind them of their favorite romance novels.

The most dramatic of all of Morrell's quixotic adventures takes place on Sunday, July 5, the evening after she attends Reverend Little Grace's Anglican service. She and her companions wander outside of Interlaken in search of a particular cloister that appears in Longfellow's *Hyperion: A Romance* (1839), an unpopular novel—the subject of a scathing review by Edgar Allen Poe (1809-1849)—that the women in the JUAC all read and knew intimately.[79] *Hyperion* follows in the romantic *bildungsroman* tradition initiated by Goethe's *Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774), featuring a Byronic hero named

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[77] Morrell, *Journal,* 60.

[78] Austen, *Northanger Abbey,* 203.

[79] Edgar Allen Poe, "Review of [Longfellow's] *Hyperion*," *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* 5 (October 1829): 227; Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Hyperion: A Romance* (Brunswick, ME: Samuel Coleman, 1839).

Paul Flemming who slogs his way along the banks of the Rhine in a state of depression induced by the death of a beloved friend.[80] Throughout the novel, Flemming finds solace in contemplating old architecture, circumambulating ruined churches and Gothic towers, and communing with both sublime craggy mountain peaks and the beautiful young daughters of innkeepers.

Morrell and her companions reenact the chapter of *Hyperion* entitled "Interlachen," an activity inspired when "someone mentioned the cloisters which awakened a desire too ensnaring to be resisted; we *must* walk through them at this shadowy hour and visit the sleeping cell of the poet's hero at Interlacken."[81] In Longfellow's chapter, the natural beauty and Gothic atmosphere of the Alpine town enflame Flemming's imagination, and Morrell's descriptions of its scenery are obviously inspired by Longfellow's: Flemming marvels at Interlaken's its "swift-rushing" river (the "Aar"), its "romantic meadows," the "wide arms of giant trees!" and then apostrophizes the landscape itself.[82] Of that same scenery, Morrell writes, "we were all charmed with the beauty of the setting sun as it shed its blushing rosetints on the blanched cheek of

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[80] Longfellow's novel acknowledges its precursor in a chapter entitled "Goethe" (in the first edition it was called "Old Humbug"). In that particular chapter, Flemming visits Frankfurt in order to retrace the steps of Goethe's youth. This moment of literary tourism within a novel about a literary tourist enters even more of a *mise-en-abîme* when Morrell reproduces it in her journal about literary tourism.

[81] Morrell, *Journal,* 60.

[82] Longfellow, *Hyperion*, 165.

the Jungfrau."[83] *Hyperion's* narrator also remarks on that same mountain sunset, transitioning into first person in order to accommodate the hyperbolic experience of witnessing its beauty: "The evening sun was setting when I first beheld thee. The sun of life will set ere I forget thee!"[84] The use of first person is rare in this novel, making this moment of free indirect discourse all the more significant.

Flemming, having contemplated the sunset over Interlaken, is distressed to find that the local hotel is full. Its the landlord, a man "with great eyes and a green coat," leads him to the village to find another place to sleep. Eventually, Flemming finds himself at the cloister–a scenario which "struck [his] imagination pleasantly" because he, just like Morrell, loves the atmosphere created by Gothic architecture.[85] A "servant girl, with a candle in her hand" leads him to his bedroom.[86] Of her experience at the same cloister, Morrell writes that "We passed under the old archway and groped like Paul Flemming in the Gothic corridor and wound up the steps of the round tower."[87] As they climb, they enjoy "those lancet windows and limestone mouldings" but are even more excited when a "servant girl, candle in hand" interrupts their shared "reverie."[88]

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[83] Morrell, *Journal,* 60.

[84] Longfellow, *Hyperion*, 167.

[85] Ibid*,* 174. It seems as though one characteristic of the Gothic is its own capacity for self-satire, as emblematized by the earliest text of that genre, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) by Horace Walpole.

[86] Longfellow, *Hyperion*, 174.

[87] Morrell, *Journal,* 60.

[88] Ibid.*,* 60.

Morrell and her friends, upon seeing the girl, playfully wonder (slightly misquoting the original text) "was she looking for the landlord with the 'great eyes and green coat' to bring her another lodger for the wainscoted chamber[. . .]?"[89] The servant may have interrupted the quixotic fantasy, but she has also inadvertently enhanced it. Morrell suspends her disbelief and willfully merges fiction with lived experience: "was it the same servant maid?"[90] Morrell's willingness to confuse fact and fiction in this cloister encounter persists when a man opens a door and asks what she and her companions are doing in his building. Morrell calls him the "Bailiff," again in reference to the Longfellow plot, and she excuses his confusion by determining that he was a "poor mortal" for not having read *Hyperion* and is thus excused from being unable to "intuitively comprehend why seven members of the Junior Alpine Club should wish to wind round the tower at that roosting time of night."[91] The group triumphs as it finally leaves the confused inhabitants of the cloister, "laughing at the predicament of the servant girl, the Bailiff and ourselves."[92] Confusing the locals in this instance has increased Morrell's pleasure.

Morrell and her fellow club members' reward is literary, architectural, and atmospheric in nature: they enjoy a Gothic experience just like Flemming, even though it occurs at the expense of the servant and the so-called Baliff. Just like in the Kussnacht chapel, where Tom has disturbed the religious objects on display, Morrell shows no compunction about causing a (possibly illegal) disruption at the cloister since she can so

[89] Ibid., 62.

[90] Ibid., 61-62.

[91] Ibid, 62.

[92] Ibid.

easily overwrite its reality as a place where people actually live with her own quixotic

Gothic fantasy. Surrounded by a group of friends with whom she shares both national

affiliation as well as literary taste, she feels entitled to determine a proper interpretation

of a particularly Roman Catholic site. Those who fail to appreciate the group's antics are

those whose reference points are, quite literally, foreign.

Expelled from Notre Dame de Paris

The JUAC concluded its holiday by spending four days in Paris, separated finally

from the Cook tour group and ready to "welcome our hotel, our letters, and our rest!"[93]

Their first full day in the city was also the third and final Sabbath of the voyage. After

enduring what Morrell considered to be the inappropriately joyful atmosphere of a

Genevan day of rest two weeks earlier, and having only begrudgingly enjoyed the

Reverend Little Grace's unchallenging version of Anglican theology the week before,

Morrell safely lowered her expectations about the solemnity of a Parisian Sunday.

Although she had begun the journey by incorrectly predicting that the "citadel of

Protestantism"—Geneva—would be somber on the traditional Christian day of rest, she

did not need to recalibrate her prejudices concerning French decorum: "what the

Parisians call work, we would style recreation in England."[94] She even relishes the

opportunity to confirm her lowest opinion of the city's inhabitants and mores, preparing

that Sunday to "look into any and as many places of worship as we should find open, en

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[93] Ibid., 95.

[94] Ibid., 97.

route to our own."[95] The Parisians appear to exceed Morrell's expectations even before

she enters a single church by flagrantly indulging in luxurious fripperies along

commercial streets: "As we passed into the Rue Royale, it was next to impossible from

any external observances to believe that it was the Sabbath, nay, if anything the

milliners' shops showed gayer bonnets, and the jewelers more attractive windows than

on Saturday."[96]

It was (and remains) common practice for visitors in Paris to step briefly into

churches and watch the observance of mass—a custom that churches anticipate by

arranging barricades to separate visitors from congregants. The first Catholic church the

JUAC visits in Paris—the eighteenth-century Église de la Madeleine in the eighth

arrondissement—had such an arrangement in place to accommodate its guests. Morrell

describes how the church "was about half filled with worshippers" with "a fence dividing

them from the observers; very many, like ourselves, strolled in for a few minutes and

then out again."[97] Morrell creates a sort of touristic solipsism in this image: the

casualness ("strolled") and predictable transience of the leisurely visitors suggests that

the worshipers behind the barrier were on display for the benefit of their observers

rather than people acting in their own right. The word "fence" here unavoidably likens

the worshipers to confined animals—an allusion we could hardly imagine beneath

Morrell at this point in her trip. Even when approving of the way in which the splendor

of the Madeleine heightened the effect of religious ritual—she calls the ceremonial

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[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid., 98.

adornments "most gorgeous" and approves of the "richness" of the chanted service—

Morrell cannot help but do so in a manner that centers the Protestant subject and

exoticizes the non-Protestant practitioner.[98]

The Madeleine and the famous Notre Dame de Paris—the next church on the

itinerary—obviously impress Morrell through the sheer power of their architectural

beauty. The mysterious human machinations they observe taking place in the famous

cathedral, however, provoke quite a different reaction from the group–one which

ultimately gets them expelled from the church. Upon first entering Notre Dame de Paris,

Morrell exclaims at the cathedral's "gorgeous" stained-glass windows and the

"sumptuously sculptured" interior.[99] The trajectory of the visit changes, however, when

she observes a priest behind a "curious, heavily-carved screen" who "seemed to have all

the little service to himself as he went through his genuflexions and muttered prayers

hardly audible to the few worshippers on chairs beyond the railing" of the choir.[100] The

word "curious" signals a sudden tonal change in the journal entry. Morrell's confusion at

the placement and style of the screen that surrounded the choir—perhaps because it

limited her view of the ceremony—thwarted what had been, up until this point, a

pleasurable aesthetic experience.[101] Extravagant "genuflexions" and incomprehensible

prayers incite confusion among members of the JUAC and lead Morrell and her brother

to a final act of mischief when they attempt to gain illicit access to that barricaded nave:

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[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid., 99.

[100] Ibid., 99-100.

[101] Ibid., 100.

Here from an undue development of English enterprise in our paymaster and

artist, who would leave nothing unseen, an incident occurred to us which, in the

moment of its transaction, peopled our fevered imaginations with the most

appalling probabilities. . . . Yes, that attempt to gain the effect of the Chancel, as

seen from the centre of the Cathedral attainable by only our inviting trespass, was

aggravating to the Verger, all glorious in his official cocked hat and epaulettes,

but who, ever true to his national politeness, made an opening for our escape.[102]

Morrell describes the act as if she were an outside observer, referring to both her

brother and herself by their official titles in the JUAC: the "paymaster" and the "artist,"

respectively. She attributes their transgression to a native, particularly English curiosity,

one that they could "leave nothing unseen," and refers to the incident itself in the

passive voice—"an incident occurred to us"—as if to suggest that they were not active

participants in it. Morrell does not actually explain what she and her brother did,

skipping from "English enterprise" in one moment to the aftermath of what they call the

"transaction" in the next–one can only assume that they attempted to break in to the

secluded ceremony and were chastised by a warden for this transgression. In the

aftermath of the incident, their imaginations fill with a fantasy of punishment worthy of

any of Morrell's most quixotic episodes:

Instantaneously we pictured seven English subjects in the Con, the interference

of the Ambassador . . . war declared, and patriotic work found at last for the

drilled riflemen.[103]

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[102] Ibid., 100.

[103] Ibid.

In looking back through Morrell's account of her tour of the Swiss Alps, with its affable tone, light-hearted quips, and occasional tributes to temperance and Calvin, it is easy to miss the gravity of her offences against the people and places she encountered abroad: she and her companions have desecrated holy sites, trespassed at least twice into restricted spaces, and made many jokes at the expense of indigent and unattractive people. It is tempting to join in with Morrell's laughter over strange foreign superstitions, dirty chapels, and the various humiliations of second-class travel conditions. After all, her penchant for both sarcastic understatement and hyperbole make for a lively read. At the same time, it is also easy, after reading Morrell's account of her tour, to understand why Palgrave would have included the following admonition in the first edition of the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1842):

> The clergy do not like to have the churches considered as shows, nor are the congregations at all indifferent, as has been asserted, to the conduct of strangers, in walking about and talking during Divine service.[104]

It also seems unexpected, in this light, that his editorial successor G. B. Maule would have expanded upon this warning, adding: "It might perhaps too be suggested to zealous individuals, that they are not protesting against Roman Catholic errors, by behaving indecorously in Roman Catholic churches."[105] It is unfortunate that Murray had not yet published a handbook to Paris until a year after the JUAC traveled to the Continent under Cook's aegis, but it is perhaps clear as well that Morrell would never have paid

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[104] [Sir Francis Palgrave], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy,* 1st ed. (London, Murray, 1842), xv.

[105] [Maule], *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 2nd ed. (London: Murray, 1846), xvi.

any heed to any reminder about maintaining politeness toward what she perceived were customs that were ideologically and religiously inferior to her own.

In light of Morrell's utter disregard for local customs and apparent lack of interest in understanding them, the case for tolerance Eustace had made in his *Classical Tour* takes on a new and much more striking significance. In his introduction, he explains that "removing prejudices, and leaving the mind fully open to the impressions of experience and observation" are the "object" of his book. [106] He also warns his reader that when one approaches a part of Christendom where religious customs are unfamiliar, one should do so "not with the acrimonious contempt of a narrow minded sectary, but with the compassionate indulgence of a mild and humble Christian. Let it be remembered that Englishmen are reproached by foreigners with intolerance, and that it becomes them to keep up the national reputation of candour and of good sense, by conciliatory and forbearing conduct."[107] In this lesson about proper behavior, Eustace strikes a scolding and condescending tone. Although it is obvious that he cannot accurately predict the class, volume, and gender of future British visitors to the Continent in his influential volume, it does appear that his words were prophetic all the same: Morrell and her companions did merit a sharp reminder about "forbearing conduct" and "humble Christian" virtues as they traipsed through the Alps, and it seems that in absence of voices like those of Eustace and Palgrave from the pages of the guidebooks, "acrimonious contempt" and the "narrow minded sectary" flourished abroad.

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[106] Eustace, *Classical Tour*, 1:23.

[107] Ibid.*,* 1:xxxii-xxxiii.

AFTERWORD

Reflections on Rick Steves's *Rick Steves' Italy 2016*

> Have a talk with yourself before you cross the border.
> Promise yourself to relax and accept it all as a package
> deal. After all, Italy is the cradle of European
> civilization–established by the Roman Empire and
> carried on by the Roman Catholic Church.[1]
>
> —Rick Steves, *Rick Steves' Italy* (2016)

A fight between the editors of the Murray and Baedeker publishing companies

broke out in May 1901 when, in an article in the *Academy: A Weekly Review of*

Literature and Life, an anonymous author made a contentious claim that Baedeker's

guidebooks had finally surpassed those of the Murray firm in quality, though the author

also reminded readers that "it is stated . . . that every Baedeker has been preceded by a

Murray; and we need not say that in the preparation of guide-books it is the pioneer

work that counts for glory."[2] One week later, Baedeker's editor James Francis Muirhead

(1853-1934) issued a peeved rejoinder to this statement: "I do not know where, when, or

by whom this statement was made, but in any case, it is not correct."[3] In turn, John

Murray IV (1851-1928)—who assumed leadership of the firm in 1892 when his father

died—published a letter in the May 25 issue, claiming that the statement about "every

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[1] Rick Steves, *Rick Steves' Italy* (Berkeley, CA: Avalon Travel Publishing, 2015), xv.

[2] "The Literary Week," *Academy: A Weekly Review of Literature and Life* 60:1514 (11 May

1901): 396.

[3] "Baedeker's Handbooks," *Academy* 60:1515 (May 18, 1901): 431.

Baedeker" being "preceded by a Murray" had actually been made by his late father. In 1889, Murray III, the creator of the handbook series, had written that "although Mssrs. Baedeker have brought out some eighteen different Guide-books, every one of them has been preceded and anticipated by a Murray's Handbook for that particular country."[4] "[Murray III's statement] has been frequently repeated hitherto without being called in question," Murray IV tells the readers. "I believe," he continues, "the statement to be as true as on the day when it was first made" (though he concedes to a few "small exceptions," including "Guide-Books to the United States and Canada," which Murray's own company had not preceded).[5]

Murray IV and Muirhead sustained their argument in four subsequent issues of the *Academy*, but both men failed to register the most interesting claim made by the author of the article that started the whole controversy in the first place. Its purpose was to issue an officious decree that writers of "novels and light verse" should henceforth annotate their "thousand-and-one references to *Murray* in connexion with travel" because "[i]t is *Murray* no longer, but *Stanford*" who ruled over the guidebook publishing industry.[6] W. B. C. Lister's helpful bibliography of the Murray series tells us that in 1901, Murray IV had sold the copyrights of the handbook series to Stanford's, a cartography specialist, and the *Academy* author's concern that contemporary readers might need annotations to understand a reference to Murray signals the passing of an

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[4] John Murray III, "The Origin and History of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers," *Murray's Magazine* (November 1889): 629.

[5] "Baedeker's Handbooks," *Academy* 61:1516 (May 25, 1901): 451.

[6] "The Literary Week," *Academy* 60:1514 (May 11, 1901): 396 (emphasis in original).

era that had seen the rise of mass tourism and the evolution of the guidebook genre that rose to support it.[7]

Even though Murray IV presented an accurate case in defense of his father's legacy, Muirhead can be said to have won the battle, since he and his brother ultimately purchased the Murray handbook copyrights from Stanford's in 1915. The Muirheads formed a joint-venture with Hachette—a prominent French publisher founded in the early nineteenth century—and established the famous Blue Guides series, still available today.[8] Although the series changed hands at the beginning of the twentieth century, it Murray's handbooks never really went away, either technically—given the continued publication of the Blue Books—or rhetorically, as we will see below.

As we assess the influence of nineteenth-century guidebook writing upon current trends in the genre, we find that the rhetorical turn taken by the Murray company in the 1840s anticipated the style most popular with American tourists in 2016. In particular, the Rick Steves series occupies nine out of the top twenty spots on Amazon.com's "Best Sellers in European Travel Guides" as of May 2016. Steves (b. 1955), whose name is emblazoned in a casual handwriting font at the top of all of his book covers, began self-publishing travel guidebooks in 1980, and according to his "About the Author" blurb on Amazon.com, he "has spent 100 days every year since 1973 exploring Europe."[9] The

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[7] W. B. C. Lister, *Murray's Handbooks for Travellers* (Lanham, MD: University Publications of America, 1993), lxiv.

[8] Murray III, "The Origin and History," 623-29.

[9] "Amazon Best Sellers: Best Italian Travel Guides," Amazon.com, accessed May 5, 2016, http://www.amazon.com/gp/bestsellers/books/16973?ie=UTF8&ref_=pd_zg_hrsr_b_2_4.

"About Rick Steves" page on the "Rick Steves' Europe" website features a photograph of its founder illuminated by the low light of an evening sun, seated on the side of a Venetian canal bridge, leaning casually against a lamppost. The biography below the photograph notes that Steves—"America's most respected authority on European travel"—began touring Europe without his parents at age eighteen (a full eight years before Ruskin was allowed to do so), and paid his own way by giving piano lessons to children in his hometown of Edmonds, Washington (where he still lives).[10] To the immediate right of the photograph, a block of text labeled "More About Rick" links to his "Social Activism & Philanthropy" page, where you can "[d]iscover how travel has shaped Rick's philanthropy, outspoken social activism, advocacy of drug policy reform and other political work."[11] Steves's casual pose, his affable smile, and his homey story of adolescent perseverance and passion are consistent with the gentle and down-to-earth congeniality of his books' tone–probably the source of his popularity overall. His prominently placed commitment to "activism" and "philanthropy" lets us know that he is a do-gooder and also reminds us that his travel writing has made him extremely rich.

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[10] "About Rick Steves," *Rick Steves' Europe*, accessed May 5, 2016, https://www.ricksteves.com/about-rick.

[11] If you click on this prominently placed "Social Activism & Philosophy" link, you are taken to a page featuring articles such as "Rick's Thoughts on Meaningful Travel" and "Behind Rick's Marjijuana Activism."

Rick Steves' Italy 2016, the book that sits at the very top of the "Best Italian

Travel Guides" list, third on the bestseller list for "European Travel Guides," sixth on the

bestseller list for "Travel," and 379th in Amazon.com book sales overall, opens thus:[12]

> Some people, often with considerable effort, manage to hate this country. Italy
>
> bubbles with emotion, corruption, stray hairs, inflation, traffic jams, strikes,
>
> rallies, holidays, crowded squalor, and irate ranters shaking their fists at each
>
> other one minute and walking arm-in-arm the next. Have a talk with yourself
>
> before you cross the border. Promise yourself to relax and accept it all as a
>
> package deal. After all, Italy is the cradle of European civilization–established by
>
> the Roman Empire and carried on by the Roman Catholic Church.[13]

It might strike one as disingenuous to begin the book by suggesting that there are a lot

of people who are reluctant to travel to Italy. After all, it is currently the world's fifth

most popular international tourist destination (behind France, the United States, Spain,

and China), and the United States sent the second highest number of tourists to the

country in 2015 (4.7 million compared to 10.5 million from Germany and 3.1 million

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[12] "Amazon Best Sellers: Best Italian Travel Guides," amazon.com, accessed May 5, 2016,

http://www.amazon.com/gp/bestsellers/books/16973?ie=UTF8&ref_=pd_zg_hrsr_b_2_4;

"Amazon Best Sellers: Best European Travel Guides," accessed May 5, 2015,

http://www.amazon.com/Best-Sellers-Books-European-Travel-

Guides/zgbs/books/16917/ref=zg_bs_unv_b_3_67655_2; "Amazon Best Sellers: Best Travel,"

accessed May 5, 2015, http://www.amazon.com/Best-Sellers-Books-

Travel/zgbs/books/27/ref=zg_bs_unv_b_2_16917_1.

[13] Rick Steves, *Rick Steves' Italy 2016*, xv.

from the United Kingdom).[14] Anticipating tourists' complaints, however, is a rhetorical trick that seems calculated both to foster camaraderie through disgust and to identify shared, presumably American values with the reader. In the list of objectionable Italian customs, Steves undiplomatically mixes human ones ("stray hairs," "ranters shaking their fists,") with non-human ("inflation" and "traffic jams"), relegating both to an equally degraded status. Predicting a reader's reservations about traveling to such an apparently debased society, Steves suggests a pep-talk ("promise yourself to relax") and reminds his reader of Italy's historical gravitas. According to Steves's advice, the perfect antidote to unpredictable, wily Italian culture is to maintain a degree of level-headedness that is apparently inaccessible to the Italians, according to his depiction of them.

Consider Steves's admonition about Italy in comparison to this passage from the introduction to Richard Ford's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845)–one of the most popular books in the Murray series:

How difficult it is . . . "to understand the Spaniards exactly!" Made up of contradictions, they dwell in the land of the unexpected . . . where exception is the rule, where accident and the impulse of the moment are the moving powers, and where men, especially in their collective capacity, act like women and children. A spark, a trifle, sets the impressionable masses in action, and none can foresee the commonest event . . . for his creed and practice are "resignation," the *Islam* of the Oriental. The key to decipher this singular people is scarcely

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[14] "Il turismo straniero in Italia," *Italia Agenzia Nazionale del Turismo*, accessed May 5, 2016, http://www.enit.it/it/studi.html.

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European, since this *Berberia Cristiana* [Christian North Africa] is at least a

neutral ground between the hat and the turban . . . Be that as it may, Spain, first

civilized by the Phoenicians, and long possessed by the Moors, has indelibly

retained the original impressions.[15]

Just like Steves, Ford imagines the struggle his reader might feel upon encountering the

unaccountable people of Spain. Like Steves's hypothetical ranting and emotional

Italians, to Ford, the people of Spain behave in ways inexplicable to rational observers;

they cannot even make simple connections between cause and effect ("none can foresee

the commonest event"). Ford offers a strategy to his readers that he calls a "key": to

understand them in terms of the Orient–they are only "scarcely" European and their

land is a liminal space ("neutral ground") between Northern Europe and Muslims of

Africa. Ford's conclusion, "Be that as it may, Spain [was] first civilized by the

Phoenicians," is remarkably similar to Steves's observation: "After all, Italy is the cradle

of civilization." Using even the same rhetorical structure, both writers remind readers of

the fundamentally Western origins of Spain and Italy, respectively. Spain (despite being

"long possessed by the Moors") and Italy (despite its unfamiliar "holidays," its "bubbles

of emotion," and its "crowded squalor") both maintain salubrious their respective

"original impressions" of Phoenician and European (Roman and Roman Catholic)

civilization. Under the layers of obscure, distinctly Oriental confusion and chaos lie

"civilized" countries that the Western gaze can discern with some effort and, of course,

guidance.

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[15] [Richard Ford], *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (London: John Murray, 1845), ix.

The fact that in its characterizations of Italians and Italy, Steves's 2016 work is so similar in style to that of Ford provides us with some insights about the course of the genre in the 180 years since Murray III published his first handbook. In its first three chapters, this dissertation on "British Travelers, Catholic Sights, and the Tourist Guidebook, 1789-1884" examined authors who, for separate reasons, offered an alternative to the essentializing travel guidance that Ford and Steves impart. Eustace's quest for Catholic emancipation, Palgrave's academic obsession with antiquity, and Ruskin's social vision and commitment to historical preservation informed their respective texts and offered readers a method of seeing Roman Catholic Italy in a way that did not rely heavily on portraying Catholic culture as so very exotic.

As this dissertation has shown, however, the popularity and longevity of Ford's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* vindicated editorial decisions that the Murray firm made to champion authors who exoticized the destinations described in their books. Today, Steves perpetuates an exoticizing tourist gaze reminiscent of the most overtly prejudiced Victorian handbook writer, and his extraordinary popularity indicates that modern tourists, or American ones at least, are either unmoved by or ignorant of the problematic implications that his rhetoric represents. The jocular tone and irreverent details characteristic of *Rick Steves' Guides* ("Italy, home of the Vatican . . . is now the land of legalized abortion, the lowest birth rate in Europe, [and] nudity on TV") seem to serve him well.[16]

To understand the reasons for which the travel guidebook market steered away from rhetorical paradigms proposed in the works of Eustace, Palgrave, and Ruskin, and

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[16] Steves, *Rick Steves' Italy 2016,* xxii.

toward a style that repeatedly Orientalizes Continental Roman Catholic art, architecture, and people, we must understand the political context of Great Britain at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Further, we have to acknowledge the fundamental role played by religious identity—specifically, a form of English Protestant exceptionalism—in cultivating the rhetoric preferred by the world's first international mass tourists, nineteenth-century Britons. In the introduction to his 2014 study, *Making England Western: Occidentalism, Race, and Imperial Culture*, Saree Makdisi identifies the complex ways in which what he calls an "'us'/'them' distinction" cut "across and among native, indigenous English" people in addition to the more obvious "native/foreigner or native/immigrant axes."[17] He reminds us that this problematic narrative of normative English selfhood emerged not only when Britons looked at foreigners and saw themselves in opposition, but also in the "horror that gripped polite observers" when they looked at "the wretches of St. Giles"—white Londoners living in the most destitute conditions only one mile away from the high society of Mayfair.[18] These same "polite observers," of course, were the very ones that went abroad in droves after the fall of Napoleon and bought guidebooks, first by Eustace and then by Murray. They are also the selfsame ones who apparently preferred the way Ford and Maule articulated the sights and described the people they saw.

Morrell's Alpine journal shows us the way in which the "us"/"them" identity emerged while observing Continental religious practices (even Protestant ones) abroad.

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[17] Saree Makdisi, *Making England Western: Occidentalism, Race, and Imperial Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), xi.

[18] Ibid., xvi.

Morrell certainly could be described as having felt "gripped" with "horror," like the "polite observers" above, and in consequence took solace in "dear old England" whenever she could.[19] Morrell concludes her journal to this effect: "The memory of our three weeks' holiday has many bright spots, but none in their way more precious than the happiness we experienced in setting foot on an English shore, and hearing again our mother tongue."[20] Even Byron, the most celebrated of all Romantic tourists, appears thrilled by the horror he encountered during his tour of the Balkan Peninsula. In the Appendix to Canto 1 of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,* for instance, he likens Albanians to the Highlanders of Scotland, observing that "their habits are predatory." He observes that they are so exotic that even "the Greeks hardly regard them as Christians, or the Turks as Moslems."[21] Byron's sense of Albanian and Highlander "otherness" might tempt us to hear what Makdisi calls a "sense of normative sameness" in the voices of the English authors who described Continental sights for their readers, but the works of Eustace, Palgrave, and Ruskin serve as reminders that we cannot take for granted that such a stance always existed.[22] As the number of British tourists to the Continent rose, the competition between the divergent strains of guidebook rhetoric—between Palgrave's and Maule's Northern Italian handbook editions, Ruskin's and Murray's

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[19] Jemima Morrell, *Miss Jemima's Swiss Journal: The First Conducted Tour of Switzerland* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1998), 60.

[20] Ibid., 111.

[21] Qtd. in [John Murray III, Godfrey Levinge], *Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople* (London: Murray, 1840).

[22] Makdisi, *Making England Western*, xvi.

approaches to Venice, and Eustace's and Ford's depictions of Continental Catholicism—

intensified as well. Today, at least in Steves's dominance of the guidebook market, we

might find cause to lament that the public still prefers the latter sort.

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